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I.—LAUNFAL.

(RAWLINSON VERSION.)

The Rawlinson Launfal, here printed for the first time, was noticed as long ago as 1839, by Sir Frederic Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, Introduction, p. lxvii. Since that time this version has been pretty generally neglected. Halliwell, to be sure, mentioned it in his *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare Society, 1845, and printed¹ vv. 1-8, 292-331, but the editors of the Percy MS do not mention it,² and it is equally ignored by Erling,³ Warnke,⁴ Münster,⁵ and Kolls.⁶ Still the Rawlinson MS is of great value in determining the text of the poem and in settling the genealogy of the different versions.

The manuscript is fully described by Sir Frederic Madden, *Syr Gawayne*, p. lxiv, who gives a list of its contents. His words are: "MS Rawlinson, marked C. 86, in the Bodleian Library,

¹ Repeated in Hazlitt's *Fairy Tales, Legends and Romances illustrating Shakespeare*, 1875, pp. 80-81. This book is an "amalgamation" of Halliwell's *Illustrations* and Ritson's *Fairy Tales* (1831).

² In 1871, however, Mr. Furnivall printed 29 lines of the Rawlinson MS in his notice of Sir Launfal, by far the most complete that had up to that time appeared, in Captain Cox, his *Ballads and Books*, pp. xxx-xxxiii.

³ *Li Lais de Lanval altfranzösisches Gedicht der Marie der France nebst Th. Chestre's Launfal neu herausg. von Ludwig Erling. Programm der K. bayer. Studienanstalt zu Kempten für das Schuljahr 1882-83.* Kempten, 1883.

⁴ *Die Lais der Marie de France herausg. von Karl Warnke. Halle, 1885.*

⁵ *Untersuchungen zu Thomas Chestre's Launfal, von Karl Münster. (Dissertation.) Kiel, 1886.*

⁶ *Zur Lanvalsage, eine Quellenuntersuchung, von Dr. Anton Kolls. Berlin, 1886.*

and formerly belonging to Knox Ward, Esq., Clarenceux king of Arms. It is a small folio, and consists of two distinct portions. The first, extending from fol. 1 to fol. 30 inclusive, is written on vellum and paper in a late hand of the fifteenth century. It contains a long English poem on the Passion of Christ . . . The second portion [which contains the Launfal] consists of 159 leaves, and is written on paper in a negligent hand towards the close of Henry the Seventh's reign.¹ Halliwell (Illustrations, p. 2) gives the date as "about 1508," and Furnivall (Captain Cox, p. xxx) refers the MS to "about 1480." Launfal or Landavall occupies fol. 119b-128, and is immediately followed by The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell,² in the same hand. The poem is here edited from a copy³ made in 1888 by Mr. George Parker, of the Bodleian Library.

The Middle English Launfal is well known to be a translation of the Lai de Lanval⁴ of Marie de France. The following English versions have been discovered:

C. Launfal Miles, by Thomas Chestre.⁵ MS Cotton, Caligula A. ii, fol. 35b-fol. 42b. The MS is of the first half of the fifteenth century (see Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, I 180, 416). Seven times printed:⁶ (1) by Ellis in his appendix to Way's translations from the Fabliaux of Le Grand d'Aussy, "1800, II 298-340"; (2) by Ritson, Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës, 1802, I 170-215; (3) in Way's Fabliaux, new ed., 1815, III 233-287; (4) by Halliwell, Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream, Shakespeare Society, 1845, pp. 2-34; (5) by W. C. Hazlitt, Fairy Tales, Legends and Romances illustrating Shakespeare,

¹ Henry VII died in 1509.

² Printed by Madden, Syr Gawayne, pp. 298-298^y.

³ Now in the Library of Harvard College.

⁴ First printed by Roquesfort, Poésies de Marie de France, 1820, I 202-250; excellently edited in 1885 by Karl Warnke, Die Lais der Marie de France, pp. 86-112. One MS (MS franç. 2168 of the National Library at Paris) was edited by L. Erling in 1883 (see p. 1, n. 3). The lay has been beautifully translated by Wilhelm Hertz, Spielmannsbuch, 1886, pp. 25-44 (with valuable notes, pp. 323-329).

⁵ This is not the place to discuss the as yet unproved theories as to Thomas Chestre and his authorship of the Octavian and the Lybeaus Disconus advanced by Sarrazin, Octavian, 1885, p. xxv ff.

⁶ In 1781 Warton printed vv. 1-42, 283-298, 1039-44, of Chestre's Launfal in his History of English Poetry (see Hazlitt's ed., I 261, III 97-98).

1875, pp. 48–80, Halliwell's text; (6) by Ludwig Erling, *Li Lais de Lanval, etc.*, Kempten, 1883, pp. 17–46; (7) in *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, selected and edited by Joseph Ritson, revised¹ by Edmund Goldsmid, 1885, II 2–33.

R. Landavall. MS Rawl. C. 86. Never before printed.

P. Sir Lambewell in Bishop Percy's MS² (now in the British Museum, Additional MS 27,879), fol. 29b–fol. 33b (see Ward, Catalogue of Romances, I 417). The MS was written about 1650 (Furnivall, Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, I, Forewords, p. xiii). Twice printed: (1) by Hales and Furnivall, Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, 1867, I 144–164; (2) thence by Dr. Anton Kolls, *Zur Lanvalsage, eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Berlin, 1886.

H. Halliwell fragment, in the Bodleian Library, Malone 941. This fragment consists of nine printed leaves, "eight of which only belong to *Sir Lamwell*." It was given to the Bodleian Library by the late Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps (then Mr. Halliwell), and was reprinted for the first time in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, edited by Hales and Furnivall, 1867, I 522–532, whence most of it was again reprinted by Dr. Anton Kolls, *Zur Lanvalsage*, Berlin, 1886. The Halliwell fragment is incomplete at the end and mutilated throughout.³

The Halliwell fragment "may be part of the edition licensed to John Kynge in 1557–8" (Furnivall, Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books, p. xxxii). Ritson, III 243, was the first to mention Kynge's license, which runs as follows:

"To John kynge to prynce these bokes folowynge that ys to saye a Jeste of syr GAWAYNE / the boke of Carvyng and sewynge/ syr LAMWELL the boke of Cokerye the boke of nurture for mens

¹A very handsome book, published at Edinburgh by subscription and limited to 350 copies. No one should be misled by the title-page. The texts are printed just as Ritson left them. Mr. Goldsmid has "revised" the book to the extent of taking the notes from the end of the third volume and putting them at the foot of the page.

²Hertz, Spielmannsbuch, p. 325, makes a curious mistake in saying that Bishop Percy "eine Abschrift [of Sir Lamwell] seinem Foliobande einverleibt hat."

³Kolls curiously enough speaks of this printed fragment as the "Bodleian MS" (p. 5), and in this error he is followed by Professor Brandl in the Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germ. Philol. VIII 240. Brandl calls attention to the Rawlinson MS (which Kolls had overlooked), but knows nothing of the Cambridge University MS fragment, which Furnivall printed in 1871.

sarvauntes and for his lycense he geveth to the howse [sum not entered]." (Arber, Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, I 79; Collier, Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company, 1848, p. 15.)

Ritson also remarked that Sir Lamwell is mentioned in Lanham's Letter, 1575, as among Captain Cox's romances.¹

D. Douce fragment, one printed leaf (61 lines), preserved in the Bodleian Library and numbered Douce II. 95. Probably this leaf belongs to a reprint of the H edition, unless H and D are both reprints of some older edition which has perished. In any case, D agrees with H almost word for word, so far as the mutilated condition of H allows comparison, but is less carefully printed and seems later.² For textual purposes D is useful so far only as it enables us to restore mutilated places in H. Eight verses cut out of H (after v. 346) are preserved in D (vv. 4-11), which also helps us fill out various mutilated lines. The Douce fragment has been three times printed, (1) in the Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq., to the Bodleian Library, p. 311, Oxford, 1840, (2) in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, edited by Hales and Furnivall, 1867, I 533-535, and thence (3) by Kolls,³ *Zur Lanvalsgage*, pp. 39-43.

F. A fragment containing the first 90½ lines of a version corresponding to H. Cambridge University Library MS Kk. 5, 30, leaf 11, printed by Furnivall, Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books, 1871, p. xxxi. The MS is catalogued as of the fifteenth century, and may be confidently referred to 1460-70.⁴ This fragment is "much scottified," as Furnivall says, containing forms like *quhair*, *gang*, *knichts*, etc. It breaks off abruptly in the middle of the word *pommel* in v. 91, no more being written. F is useful in restoring the mutilated H (see below, p. 16). Though printed in 1871, it has escaped the notice of Erling (1883), Warnke (1885), Kolls (1886), and Brandl (Jahresbericht, VIII 240).

Sir Frederic Madden⁵ speaks of a copy of the Launfal in MS

¹ Ritson, III 243. See the passage in Furnivall's edition of the Letter (in his Captain Cox), p. 30.

² Furnivall, Percy MS, I 522. D misprints *Aals* for *Alas*, *exe* for *eye*, etc., and omits one whole line (R 320, P 365, H 363).

³ Dr. Kolls calls it the "Douce MS" (p. 39).

⁴ I owe these dates to the kind courtesy of Dr. Furnivall, who not only gave me his own opinion, but took pains to write to the Deputy Librarian, Mr. Magnússon, on my behalf.

⁵ Syr Gawayne, p. lxvii.

Lambeth 305. This, says Halliwell, "seems to be an error for the copy of Lybeaus Disconus in MS No. 306 in the same collection" (*Illustrations*, p. 2). Dr. F. J. Furnivall has kindly directed an inquiry on this subject to Mr. S. W. Kershaw, Lambeth Librarian, who, in an obliging note, confirms Halliwell's suspicion. There seems to be no copy of the Launfal among the Lambeth MSS.

We have, then, three complete copies of the Middle English poem (C, R, P), one long fragment (H), and two short fragments (D, F). The position of D has been already discussed. Postponing the consideration of F, we may next examine C, R, H, and P.

Even a cursory examination of these texts shows that they fall into two groups—the first consisting of Chestre's version, and the second of R, H, and P. On further scrutiny, R, H, and P are seen to be but different texts of a single poem—a Middle English translation of the *Lai de Lanval*. For, though differing from each other in many points (thanks to the blunders of copyists and the omissions and interpolations of reciters or minstrels), R, H, and P are, on the whole, identical not only in contents, but in phraseology and rhymes. They follow the narrative of Marie step by step, often rendering her words literally, and seldom departing farther from them than the liberty of a translator allows. Chestre's romance is about twice as long as R, H,¹ or P. It is an amalgamation of the *Lai de Lanval* with the anonymous *Lai de Graelent*,² and contains in addition two long episodes drawn from the author's imagination, or rather from the common stock of mediaeval romancers. So far, however, as Chestre follows the narrative of Marie—and he does follow it in its essentials pretty closely—his rendering is to all intents and purposes identical with R, H, and P. This identity, extending as it often does to the minutest points of expression—and that too not only in lines translated from the French, but in many others not to be found in Marie at all—shows conclusively that we have not here to do with the work of two independent translators—one for Chestre and another for R, H, and P—but with a single Middle English version of the *Lai de Lanval*. We must suppose either that the translation represented

¹ That is, as H must have been before mutilation.

² Printed (1) in Barbazan-Méon, IV 57–80; and (2) in Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I 486–540; cf. R. Köhler in Warnke's ed. of the *Lais*, p. lxxxi, n.

by R, H, and P is merely an abridgment of Chestre's poem, or that Chestre based his romance on that translation.

Since Chestre's poem is preserved in a manuscript considerably older and better than any copy which we have of the Short Version (as we may for convenience call the translation represented by R, H, and P), and since it is also decidedly superior to that version in poetic merit, one is at first sight inclined to think that the Short Version is merely an abridgment of Chestre's *Launfal*. Such was the somewhat over-hasty inference of Hales¹ with respect to the Percy text and the printed fragments, and such seems to have been the opinion of Halliwell² as to R and D. But this theory is untenable for four reasons:

(1) In places where Chestre has abandoned the *Lai de Lanval* (M) to follow the *Lai de Graelent*, the Short Version follows the *Lai de Lanval*.³

(2) Passages occur in Marie and in the Short Version which are not found in Chestre at all.⁴

¹ Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, I 142. So Ward, Catalogue of Romances, I 417.

² Illustrations, p. 2.

³ Two cases of this are cited for another purpose by Kolls (p. 66) from the copies at his disposal; I add R,—(1) cf. R 165–171, H 187–193, P 205–209, with M 201–208; and C 373 ff. with Graelent 331 ff. (2) cf. R 498–499, P 605–610, with M 651–658; and C 1009–1017 with Gr. 639–650. Kolls's third case (R 183–188, H 209–214, P 221–226, M 221–238; C 613–637, Graelent 409–416) is not very convincing. Throughout, however, the Short Version omits Chestre's interpolated incidents, whether they are due to Graelent or to his own fancy. The author of an abridgment could not do this; he would be sure to retain something wrong.

⁴ Such are:

M 36–37, R 25, H 31, P 29.

M 101–102, R 99–100, H 113–114, P 121–122 (Kolls).

M 139, R 154, H 152 (150), P 190.

M 141–142, H 151 (149), P 189.

M 203–204, R 179–180, H 203–204, P 215–216 (Kolls).

M 223, R 186, H 212, P 224.

M 317, R 240, H 274, P 278.

M 341–342, R 261–262, H 299–300, P 305–306.

M 343–345, R 263–264, H 301–302, P 307–308 (Kolls).

M 427, R 327, H 374, P 376.

M 475, R 349, H 428, P 417.

M 510, H 471, P 447.

M 548–549, R 371–372, P 499.

To Kolls belongs the credit of first publishing a comparative view of H, P, and M.

(3) In some places the Short Version shows a closer translation of Marie than is found in the corresponding places in Chestre.¹

We are forced, therefore, to adopt the other alternative and to believe that Thomas Chestre used the Short Version—a Middle-English translation of Marie's Lai de Lanval—as the basis of his poem.² This translation, which, as we have seen, is more or less imperfectly preserved in R, H, and P, I shall henceforth call *x*.³

No one of the three copies R, H, and P represents *x* correctly, for each omits passages which, by their presence in one or both of the others and at the same time in C or M, are shown to have belonged to *x*.⁴ But taken together, R, H, and P contain, with two or three possible exceptions,⁵ every line which is common to C and M. A comparison⁶ of our three copies of the Short Version makes further disclosures as to their genealogy.

In the first place, P is neither from H nor from any MS of which H is an accurate copy. This is shown by P 287-288, which correspond to M 320-321, and therefore belonged to *x*, but which do not stand in H.⁷ In a few cases P agrees more nearly than H

¹ Such are:

M 56, R 52, P 66 (H cut off, cf. F 62); cf. C 243.

M 114-116, R 113-116, H 133-136, P 141-144; cf. C 304-306.

M 124-127, R 120-122, H 140-142, P 146-148; cf. C 311-312.

M 228, R 184, H 210, P 222; cf. C 638.

² Warnke, p. xi, arrived at this result for C and P, and Kolls proved it for H (p. 65). As long ago as 1840, however, the editor of the Douce Catalogue conjectured D to be part of a version older than C (p. 311). Erling, p. vii, knowing no English version but Chestre's, supposes C to be a *rifacimento* of an Old French poem which consisted of Lanval, Graelent, and an unknown battle-piece fused together. This is impossible; Chestre's mention of "the French tale" (v. 474, cf. v. 741) cannot be built upon.

³ Whether *x* goes back directly to Marie's lay or not is a question that will be discussed later, pp. 17-20.

⁴ For passages omitted in R see p. 9; for omissions in H, see p. 9; for omissions in P, see p. 8, n. 3.

⁵ See p. 9, n. 5.

⁶ Such a comparison was undertaken by Dr. Anton Kolls (*Zur Lanvalssage*) for H (which he calls B) and P. The very important MS R was unknown to Kolls, so that his researches have sometimes gone astray and are necessarily incomplete. I have profited much by his careful work, however, though I am obliged to point out some of his errors and cannot always agree with his theories.

⁷ Cited by Kolls, p. 66. The lines are not in R. Two other places are adduced by Kolls: (1) P 69-70 = C 232-233 and hence = *x*, but not in H; and (2) P 165-168 (assured for *x* by C 337-9, 342), which are, he says, condensed

with what must have been the reading of *x*. This may be seen in P 1-2 (cf. H 1-2,¹ R 1-2, C 1-2), in P 17-18² (cf. H 21-22, R 20-21, C 28-29), and probably in P 76 (cf. H 76, R 64, C 245-6).

H is, of course, not from P, for it is about a hundred years older than P. That it is from no MS of which P is an accurate copy is proved by a great many passages omitted in P but preserved in H, and shown by their presence in C to have belonged to *x*.³

The Rawlinson MS is older than any other copy of the Short Version extant (except F), and this, of course, makes it impossible to derive it from either H or P. But it is further certain that neither H nor P represents correctly the MS from which R was copied. In the case of P this is easily shown, for R contains some lines that must have belonged to *x*,⁴ but are not found in P, and, further, it

to two lines in H (161-162). In the first case, comparison with R 53-56 and with F 63-66 shows that *x* had the verses in the following order, P 69, P 70, P 66, P 67, and consequently that the lacuna in H is before, not after, H 67-68. Now the lines immediately preceding v. 67 are cut off, so that this passage is no proof at all. The second case is at any rate doubtful (cf. R 137-142).

¹ H 1-2 should be filled out in accordance with F 1-2 (see infra, p. 16).

² Kolls (p. 7) regards P 17 and H 22 as interpolations. R shows that this is impossible. H is here very corrupt, and H 22 is a repetition of the idea contained in H 21, as Kolls says, but he is wrong in thinking that P 17 is not different in sense from P 18. Taken together, P 17 and 18 express the whole duty of a generous knight, to *give* (18) and *spend* (17) lavishly. No one accuses Marie of redundancy in her "doinst et despende largement" (Lanval 138). C 29 is Chestre's own verse. It cannot be assumed for *x*, in which the passage must have stood very much as it does in R.

³ Seven such passages are collected by Kolls, p. 67: H 37-38, R 31-32, C 217-218; H 43-44, R 37-38, C 223-224; H 105-106, R 91-92, C 280-281; H 137-138, R 117-118, C 307-308; H 195-196, R 173-174, C 424-425; H 257-258, R 225-226, C 691-692; H 337-338, R 298-299, C 793-794.

⁴ Thus:

R 13-16 = H 13-16; cf. M 13-17.

R 31-32 = H 37-38 = C 217-18.

R 37-38 = H 43-44 = C 223-4.

R 61-62 = H 73-74; H 73 = (in part) C 243. Kolls (p. 14) says H 73-74 stand alone.

R 77-78; cf. C 265-6.

R 117-8 = H 137-8 = C 307-8; cf. M 117-8.

R 169-70; cf. H 191-2, C 416-17.

R 225-6; cf. H 257-8, C 691-2.

R 298-9 = H 337-8 = C 793-4.

R 352-3; cf. H 431-2, C 850-2.

R 409-11 = C 908 ff.

approaches M nearer in several cases than P does.¹ In the case of H evidence is not so plentiful, but what there is is decisive. The single reading "coveride was with Alexanderyne" in R 100 = "covert de purpre Alexandrine" M 102, where P 122 has "was fringed about with gold fine," and H 114 "couered ouer with golde full fyne," would settle the matter;² but other instances are not wanting in which R is nearer *x* than H is.³ In one case two lines belonging to *x* are omitted in H but present in R (R 177-178 = C 430-431 = M 211-212).

Further, neither H nor P is from R, for both H and P contain passages that were surely in *x* but do not occur in the Rawlinson MS.⁴

Thus P 14 = C 26 = H 18 should be inserted in R after v. 17. Other lines lacking in R but assured for *x* are:

P 200 = H 180 = C 356 = M 169.

P 213-214 = H 201-202 (cf. M 215-216).

P 287-288 = M 320-321.

P 361, H 303 = C 751 (rhyme lacking after R 264).

That H and P do not independently go back to *x*, but have a common source this side of the first Middle-English translation, was seen by Kolls, though the passages that he brings forward to prove this are perhaps not conclusive (p. 67). This source Kolls called *z*, a term that we shall find it convenient to retain. The existence of *z* is shown by certain erroneous features which H and P have in common, but which are avoided in the other MSS. Of such errors the following may be mentioned:⁵

¹ Thus, *heron* in R 81 is probably an error for *ern*; C 268 has *ern*, M 87 has *aigle*, P 105 has *gripe*. So P 72 reads *color*; R 58 *cornalle*, B 70 *curnall*, C 239 *coronali*. R 123 *curteyse and hende*; B 143 *curtoysse and hende*; C 314 *gentyl and hende*; P 153 *I doe you see kind*. R 109 *her heire shone*; C 298 *her here schon*; P 131 (absurdly) *for it* [i. e. rednesse] *shone*. There is no occasion to multiply examples.

² C lacks the passage.

³ The name of the hero in R (Landavall) is nearer the French form Lanval and Chestre's Launfal than is the Lamwell or Lambwell of H. R 73-4 is almost exactly C 259-60; P 87-90 and H 85-88 are somewhat different, as well as two lines longer.

⁴ In other cases R shows corruption in lines that are better preserved in P and H. Thus, R 59-60 (cf. P 73-74, H 71-72, C 241-242); R 112 (cf. P 140 = H 132 = C 302); R 288 (cf. P 329, H 327, C 783, M 382). Before R 24 a line has dropped out (cf. P 23-24, H 27-28; cf. M 33-34).

⁵ None of these are noticed by Kolls, who bases his case on the fact that the "feste Seint Johan" (M 222, C 618) is not mentioned by H or by P, and on the omission by both those copies of C 358-60 (M 171-2), C 430-1 (M 211-12), and C 703-4 (M 309-10). Such arguments from omission are hardly safe. The feast of St. John is perhaps too much of a commonplace to pin a theory on. See, for example, *Perceval le Gallois*, 30,837 ff., Potvin, V 12.

(1) The corruption of *Lanval* (or *Launfal*) to *Lamwell* (or *Lambwell*). This is common to H and P, but is found neither in C nor in R.¹ Marie's form is *Lanval*. The first Middle-English version doubtless had *Lanual* (cf. C 5), *Lanfal*, or *Launfal*. Chestre has preserved the proper form, and R has changed it a very little. The form *Lamwell* is typical for the group PH, and alone furnishes sufficient ground for assuming *z* as the source of those two copies.

A curious bit of external evidence that a version of the *Launfal* story existed under the name of *Lamwell* some fifty years before the date of H,² is afforded by Thomas Feylde in his poem called "A contrauersye bytwene a louer and a Jaye." Feylde's poem was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date.³ Mr. Hazlitt refers it to 1522 "on the ground that Hawes, who is mentioned as dead by Feylde, is supposed to have been living in 1521-2."⁴ This date at least fixes one terminus. The other is fixed by the death of Wynkyn de Worde in 1534.⁵

The passage in which *Lamwell* is mentioned runs thus:⁶

" Thus am I wrapped,
And in wo vmbelapped,
Suche loue hath me trapped
Without ony cure.
Syr Trystram the good
For his lemmman Isoude
More sorowe neuer bode,
Than I do endure.

¹ The name appears as follows :

In Percy MS : Lambewell, *title*, vv. 16, 65, 139, 143, 178, 186, 210, 212, 223, 325, 406, 425, 464, 551, 605.—Lambwell, vv. 93, 173, 179, 204, 209, 211, 232, 244, 248, 249, 283, 295, 428, 469, 495, 506, 531, 570, 579, 619.—Lamewell, v. 77.—Lamwell, vv. 81, 84, 87, 422, 475.—Lambell, v. 229.

In Halliwell fragment : [L]amwell, v. 82.—Lamwell, vv. 131, 137, 171, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 211, 217, 220, 232, 236, 279, 289, 323, 338, 434, 441.—Lamw[ell], vv. 432, 451. The Douce fragment does not contain the name.

In Rawlinson MS, *Landavall*, *title*.—Landevalle, vv. 19, 20, 117, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 191, 355, 391, 394, 413, 418, 452, 498, 504, 518, 528.—Landavalle, vv. 70, 111, 151, 171, 185, 206, 210, 243, 253, 258, 284.—Landavalle, vv. 194, 299 (Landewalle?).—Landevalle, vv. 331, 476, 533. Chestre has *Launval*, v. 5.—Launfale, vv. 22, 471, 1040.—Launfalle, v. 647.—Launfal, vv. 44, 71, 85, etc.—Launfall, v. 617.—Launfel, vv. 170, 435.—Launfal : *lel*, v. 325.—Launfal : *well*, v. 508.

It is to be noticed that *Launfel* (170, 435), *Launfal* (326 : *lel*), and *Launfal* : *well* (508) are in passages added by Chestre. The name occurs in rhyme in the following places in P: 232 (: all), 551 (: tell), 579 (: deale); and in H, 220 (: all), 338 (: tell). P 232 = H 220 = C 647 (*Launfalle* : alle) = R 194 (*Landavalle* : alle this by *error*), and therefore stood in *x*. P 551 = R 476 (*Landevalle* : alle), cf. M. 633-5, and certainly stood in *x*, but the Percy reading is corrupt, being perhaps changed to make a good rhyme for the altered form *Lambewell*. P 579 is found in no other copy. H 338 (*Lamwell* : tell) = C 794 (*Launfal* : alle) = R 299 (*Landavalle* or *Landewalle* : alle), and was therefore in *x*; the reading of H seems in like manner to have been changed for the sake of rhyme.

² The existence of F warrants us in putting the date of *z* still farther back (see below, p. 16).

³ Hazlitt, *Hand-book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, 1867, p. 197, gives titles and colophons. Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, II 336-7, knew of but one edition. That there were two was pointed out by Collier in 1866 (*Bibliographical Account*, II 17).

⁴ Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes*, 1876, p. 155.

⁵ Wynkyn de Worde died not later than January, 1535 (Dibdin, II, p. vi).

⁶ This seems never to have been cited in connection with the *Launfal*. The last twelve lines are printed by Michel, *Tristan*, I xxv. I have given the passage as it is printed by Collier, *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, II 19. See also Collier, *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, 1557-1570, p. 7. The poem has been reprinted for the Roxburghe Club (Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes*, 1876, p. 155).

Lamwell and Lamaroke,
 Gawayne and Launcelotte,
 Garathe and Craddocke,
 With the table rounde ;
 Syr Beuys, syr Eglamoure,
 Syr Terry, syr Tryamoure,
 In more greuous doloure
 Was neuer in bounde."

(2) rednesse P 130 = H 122. R 108 has *rud*; C 296 has *rode*. P and H are evidently corrupt.

(3) R 73-4 = almost exactly C 259-60, and therefore = *x*. P 87-90 and H 85-88 are somewhat different, as well as longer by two lines.

(4) R 49-50 = C 229-30 are not found in P, and apparently did not stand in H. Here we are not on sure ground, for H may have lost the lines by mutilation.

(5) In P and H Launfal goes to sleep (P 60 = H 56). This incident is not found in R, C, or M. At this point R agrees with C much more closely than P and H do. It is very doubtful if *x* made the knight fall into a doze under the tree.

(6) Encumbrer le vuelent plusur
 Pur la volenté lur seignur. (M 433-4.)

Har lord þe kyng to queme.
 Some dampnede Launfal þere. (C 879-80.)

Summe wolde hym to dothe deen
 Ther king theirre lorde for to g'lueene. (R 378-9.)

Here R is somewhat corrupt, and C has been altered (see context) to suit the stanza, but the reading of *x* was plainly something like this :

Some wolde hym to dethe deme
 Their lord the kyng for to queme.

This is found in P and H in the following identically corrupt state :

some to death wold him deeme
 for to please the King and queene. (P 451-2.)

[Some to death th]ey wolde hym deme
 [For to please the k]lynge and quene. (H 475-6.)

(7) P 116 goodlie vice; H 108 goodly wyse. C 284 purpur bys; R 94 purpille byse. P H, wrong; C R, right. (But cf. Laneham's Letter, ed. Furnivall, pp. 55, 76.)

(8) A comparison of MSS shows that the following passage of R, in spite of some easily emended corruptions, represents pretty accurately the reading of *x*:

- 171 Landavale makyth nobile festes = C 421.
- 172 Landevale clothys the pore gestes² = C 422.
- 173 Landevale Byith grette stedes = C 424.
- 174 Landevale yeuythe Riche wedes = C 425.
- 175 Landevale Rewaredithe religiouse = C 427.
- 176 And acquiteth the prisoners = C 428-9.
- 177 Landevale clothes gaylours = C 430.
- 178 Landevale Doithe eache man honours = C 431.

¹ This letter is perhaps rather a peculiarly shaped *g* than a *g*.

² "Fyfty fedde pouere gestes," C.

The following emendations are suggested by C: *fedyth* in v. 172; *religions*¹ in v. 175; *prisons*² in v. 176; *gestours*³ in v. 177. The reading *acquitethe* is vouched for by M 210: "Lanval aquitout les prisuns," and by C 429: "and made ham quyt and schere."

The corresponding verses in P and H show curious corruptions that evidently point to *z*.⁴ Thus:

- { Lambewell feeds minstrelsie their Iests. (P 210.)
- { Lamwell fynde mynstrelles that gestes. (H 194.)
- { Lambewell helpes euery poore howse. (P 212.)
- { Lamwell helped euery pore hous. (H 200.)

In the latter case the change was evidently made in *z* for rhyme, *religions* having been corrupted to *religious* (religious P, *relygyous* H). This passage alone would prove the common corrupt source for P and H, justifying us in our assumption of *z*.

(6) P 197 secret place, H 177 secrete place; C 354 derne stede = R 157.⁵

The passages just discussed prove conclusively that P and H are to be referred to a common text (*z*) later than the original translation (*x*). That the Rawlinson MS is not identical with this *z* or derived from it is evident from several of these same passages. That, on the other hand, this *z* is not from the Rawlinson MS is shown by passages like P 14 = C 26 = H 18 (cited above, p. 20, n. 1). Further, this *z* is not derived from C, for it contains several passages belonging to *x* but omitted in C.⁶ That C is derived

¹ C has *relygyous* rhyming with *prisouns* (see next note). *Religio* is used for *religiosus ordo, monasterium* in a charter of 1143 (Ducange). In the fifteenth century and later, *religion* was used in French in the same senses (see Ducange and Littré). Compare the Italian *entrare in una religione*. For the word *religion* in English, meaning *monastic order*, see Skeat's n. on Piers Plowman, C text, xi 88, ed. of 1886, II 135. I find no example of *religions* in the sense of *men of religion* except in mediaeval Latin (see Ducange); *religious* in MS I of the C text of Piers Plowman (Skeat's ed. for the Early English Text Society, III 90) is evidently a scribe's error.

² *prisouns* C (*prisuns* M 210) = prisoners, as often.

³ *Fyfty clodede gestours* C. *Lanval vesteit les jugleurs* M 211.

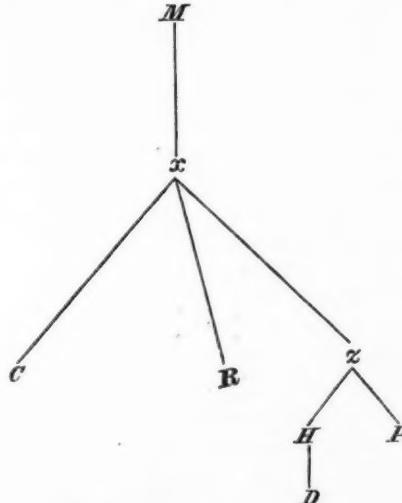
⁴ P 209-212, H 193-200. The differences between P and H are not to be wondered at when we consider the difference in the dates of these two texts and the fact that P is much corrupted throughout. Their correspondence in error is made all the more striking by these considerations.

⁵ One or two minor points may be noticed here: (1) P 117 = H 109 sate; M 97 iut, C 286 = R 95 lay. (2) P 67 red veluett, H 67 reed velvet; C 235 grene felwet, R 55 grene velvet. (3) R 73-74 correspond to C 259-60; these verses are not found in PH, which do, however, have a ridiculous line about "his (their) washing his (their) hands and face also" (P 99, H 89). Nothing can be more inappropriate. Some scribe or minstrel thought it a pity that so fine a basin and towel should not be used at once. (4) P 240 pretty, H 228 praty; R 202 thyrt, M 249 trente (C 642 syxty ladyes and mo). (5) between Gawaine & Lamwell the head P 244 = H 232; R 206 (Betwene landavale and the gawyne so hende) and C 662 give Gawain his usual and proper title.

⁶ Such are P 121-2 = H 113-14 = M 101-2; P 215-16 = H 203-4 = M 203-4; P 278 = H 274 = M 317; P 307-8 = H 301-2 = M 343, 345. All of these are cited by Kolls, p. 67.

from *z* would probably be seriously maintained by no one. Such a theory would be instantly disproved by the passages just cited to prove the existence of *x*.

So far, then, the English texts of Launfal appear to arrange themselves thus:



But several other questions require elucidation. In the first place, may not R and *z* have had a common source (*v*) this side of *x*? This is perhaps impossible to prove, but there are several circumstances which make the assumption of such a *v* by no means an absurdity. The most important are the following:

(1) The name Avalon (M 659) is corrupted to Amylyone in R (530) and to Amilion in P (621). The agreement of R and P in this singular corruption might be regarded as proving a *v* if C had the right reading in this place. But C has Olyroun both here (C 1023) and before in v. 278 where P has Million (114), H Mylyon (104), and R Amylione (90). This suggests the possibility that Amylyone is due to *x*, not to an hypothetical *v*, but it does not prove the reading for *x*. Whether *x* had Avalon or Amylyone, Chestre's Olyroun is not a mere blunder. The Isle of Oléron has been famous ever since the twelfth century for the code of maritime laws known in the time of Edward III as La Leye Olyroun, and in force in England from an early date.¹

The name was evidently familiar to Chestre, and he substituted it in both

¹ Münster, Untersuchungen zu Thomas Chestre's Launfal, p. 9, mentions the Laws of Oléron, but knows no earlier mention of them in England than 1375, which date he sets up as a *terminus a quo* for Chestre's poem. But La Chartre D'Oleroun des Juggementz de la mièr, in an early fourteenth century hand, is found in the Liber Memorandorum of the London Corporation. The laws were enforced by Edward III, and seem to have been operative in the time of Edward I. They were supposed to have been introduced into England by Richard I. (See Sir Travers Twiss, The Black Book of the Admiralty, I, pp. lix ff., lxix.)

these places deliberately, just as he made Perceval Launfal's "borwe" instead of *Iwain* (814), and called the heroine of the story Tryamour (v. 255). Kolls, who knew nothing of R, suggests that Chestre made this change because the name of the island was sehr undeutlich geschrieben in *x* (p. 17), but it is improbable that so important a proper name was twice illegible in a single short poem. If *x* had Amylyone—and that is what it must have had unless we assume *v*—Chestre must have changed this to Olyroun for one of two reasons, either because he had never heard of the Isle of Avalon, and hence could not make so easy an emendation, or because, though familiar with Avalon, he preferred to mention a well known and actually existing island. Obviously these reasons will apply just as well if we suppose *x* to have had the correct reading Avalon. Chestre's Olyroun, therefore, is no argument for a corrupt reading in *x*. It should be remembered, however, that *x* is not a MS, but a version, and that the readings in these places may be explained by supposing—what is in the highest degree probable—that C, R, and *z* did not use an entirely correct MS of *x*.

(2) One other piece of evidence which may perhaps be construed in favor of the existence of *v* is this. C has the following introductory lines which call the Launfal a lay:

Be douȝty Artours dawes,
þat held Engelond yn good lawes,
þer fell a wondyr cas
Of a ley þat was ysette,
þat hyȝt Launual and hatte ȝette,
Now herkeneþ how hyt was. (C 1-6.)

Of these lines, 1-2 are contained (with variations of course) in all the other copies; but C is the only copy that has vv. 3-6. Now these four lines correspond closely to the opening lines of Marie's poem :

L'aventure d'un autre lai,
Cum ele avint, vus cunterai.
Faiz fu d'un mult gentil vassal ;
En Bretanz l'apelent Lanval.

If these stood in *x*, the fact that they are omitted in all the copies that we possess of the Short Version may, perhaps, indicate the existence of *v*. It is possible, however, that Chestre got his hint for these lines from the Lai de Graelent, in which case all implication vanishes. Graelent begins:

L'aventure de Graelent
Vus dirai si que jeo l'entent :
Bun en sunt li Lai à oïr
E les notes à retenir.
(Roquefort, Poésies de Marie de France, I 486.)

But surely Chestre's lines stand nearer to Lanval than to Graelent. Besides, some such introduction would naturally have stood in *x*. Middle-English translators were never sorry to call their poems by so popular a name as that of "lays of Britain." No instance is known in which the translator of a lay

omitted to designate it as such.¹ On the contrary, it has been suspected that some Middle English poems bear that title with no shadow of right.²

(3) The passage C 790-1 (cf. C 46-7), H 335-6, P 337-8, R 296-7, seems to be in favor of *v*. If we adopt Chestre's reading:

"þe quene (*lady* in v. 46) bar los of swych a word

þat sche louede (*hadde* in v. 47) lemannys wythout (in v. 47 *vnþer*) her lord,"

we are obliged to assume *v* to account for the first line of the couplet as it stands in R, H and P:

"And she had such a comforde
To haue lemmans vnder her lorde."

It is not improbable that *v* existed, and that the scribe of *v* did not understand *los*. If we reject the first line of the couplet in C in favor of "And she had such a comforde," we have a halting rhyme; but *cumford* (noun) rhymes with *lord* in O. E. Miscellany, ed. Morris, p. 218, vv. 244-5, and the spelling *cumforde* occurs in Alliterative Poems, I 369 (Mätzner).³ Cf. also *word* : *mod* (see note 4 below).

On the whole, then, the evidence is not conclusive for *v* or against it.⁴

In a genealogy of this kind it is, of course, impossible to say how many manuscript ancestors in the direct line any copy may have had. In the case of P, however, it seems well to indicate that much corruption, wilful as well as stupid, must have taken place between *z* and it. This is shown not merely by the many blunders of this very late MS, but by the long interpolations it contains. Such are P 93-98, 133-138, 149-152, 173-180.⁵ P₁ may then be inserted in the pedigree to represent the MS from which P was directly copied or the reciter from whose lips it was taken down.

We must next consider the Scotch fragment F preserved in a MS of 1470-80. In F the hero is called Lamuell (vv. 20, 21, 80). This immediately refers the fragment to MS *z*.⁶ The beginning

¹ Unless Sir Degore is a "lay of Britain."

² Cf. A. J. P. VII 184, n. 3.

³ Compare, in the Percy MS version of Eger and Grime, *easmend* : *wend* (229-30, cf. 222), *commandement* : *send* (313-14); and in The Wedding of Sir Gawain (Rawl. MS), *hand* : *warraunt* (277-8), *parte* : *coward* (352-3), *wonnt* : *hond* (626-7); but also, *covenant* : *waraunt* (363, 366). Further discussion of this point must be postponed till time shall serve for an examination of the dialect of the Short Version.

⁴ One passage which at first seems to make for *v* turns out to be entirely inconclusive. This is C 769-70, P 325-6, H 323-4, R 284-5. Here C 769, or something like it, is of course to be assumed as the reading of the first line of the couplet in *x*, and M 375, 378 must vouch for H 324 (R 285) as also belonging to *x*. This makes *x* guilty of a bad rhyme (*mod* : *word*), which P, R, and C have regulated each in its own way. Similar rhymes occur in the Percy MS version of Eger and Grime, thus: *word* : *woode* (A.-S. *wôd*), 985-6; *borne* : *one*, 1065-6; *child-hood* : *sworde*, 1027-8.

⁵ These interpolations are all trivial or vulgar or both. One or two of them have a comically prosaic effect. Cf. also the end of P with the corresponding passage in the other versions.

⁶ Other bits of evidence that point in the same direction are: (1) "monie ane aire," v. 5; (2) the hand and face washing, v. 86; (3) "rid velvet," v. 65; (4) the nap of Lamuell, v. 56.

of F coincides with H in an erroneous reading. F has :

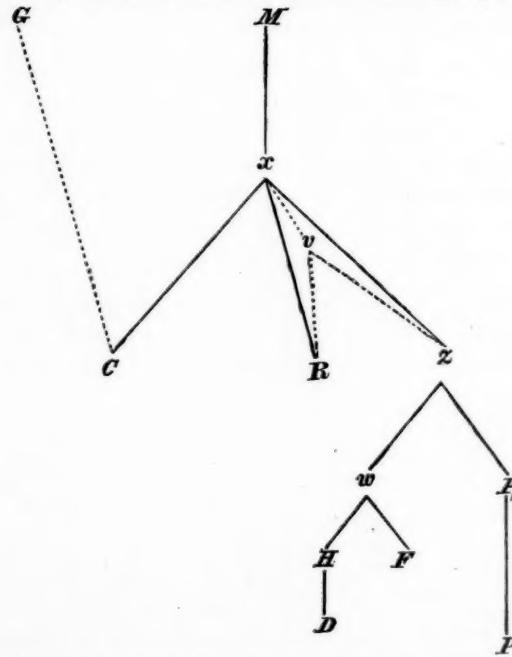
Listine, Lordings! by the dayis off Arthure
was Britan in greet honoure (vv. 1-2).

H has :

..... ges by the dayes of Arthur
..... ayne in great honoure (vv. 1-2),

ingeniously, but as now appears incorrectly, filled out by Furnivall. That H and F are wrong here is easily seen by comparing the other copies (see supra, p. 8). A similar coincidence in error is seen in F 74 (ane touall of Alifyne) and H 75 ([a to]well of alysene).¹ These two passages connect F closely with H. It is impossible to suppose that H is derived from F, not only on account of the extraordinary dialect of the Scotch fragment, but also because F contains some errors which H avoids.² F is of course not from H; dates forbid. Our safest course is to assign H and F to a common source *w*, this side of *z*.³ This obviously puts back *w*, and consequently *z*, to a date prior to 1470-80.

Modifying our genealogical table in accordance with these conclusions as to P, v, and F, we have the following figure :



¹ Cf. R 64, P 76, C 245-6 (changed and expanded to suit the stanza).

² Thus F 69-70 are wrong (cf. H 71-72 with P 73-74 and C 241-2). This place is conclusive. Cf. also F 34 with H 34 and R 28. In vv. 83-88 F gets into trouble, rhyming *song* with *gang* and adding a line.

³ In one case F has a reading which was doubtless that of *x*, where H (82) and P (84) vary. In v. 80 we read "The grathethe, Sir lamuell, paramour," which corresponds to R 70 "The(y) gretith Landavale paramoure." C has no such line. The matter is too slight to build on. F has at least three lines that belonged to *x* but are not found in R (F 18, 23, 24).

The dotted line starting from *v* indicates not contamination but a possible alternative for the derivation of *R* and *z*. I have added a dotted line (following Kolls, p. 5) to show the indebtedness of Chestre to the Lai de Graelent (G).

The kinship of G and M is discussed by Kolls (pp. 1-4). Quoting a number of similar places in the two lays, and taking into account the general similarity of plot, he supposes that M and G "aus einer beiden Versionen gemeinsamen Vorlage herühren," and that this Vorlage "die bretonische Volkssage repräsentiert" (p. 4). These results he embodies in his pedigree. As all questions that concern the lays are still very obscure, one can feel no confidence in any results reached by so summary a process. One thing, however, seems evident enough — the Graelent is, in story, much more primitive than the Lanval, and doubtless nearer the original Breton lay, which perhaps had nothing at all to do with King Arthur.¹

One further question concerning Graelent must be considered. Kolls does not derive *x* directly from M, but from an assumed *y*. His words are : " Die hiermit gesicherte Version *x* ging indessen nicht direkt auf M zurück, sondern auf *y* d. h. auf eine bereits verderbte und namentlich durch G beeinflusste afrz. Version des Lai de Lanval der Marie der France." To prove this it is of course necessary to find passages which are common to G and to *x* without also occurring in M. These passages must at the same time be too characteristic to be composed independently by two writers. Of such Kolls thinks he has discovered six. We must examine these with some care.

- (1) " His waye he taketh toward [the west]
 Bytwene a water and a fo[rest]." (H 39-40.)²

These lines Kolls refers to G 194-196 :

" Fors de la vile aveit un gart,
 Une forest grant è plenièr,
 Parmi cureit une rivière."

The corresponding place in M has :

" For de la vile est eissuz ;
 Tuz suls est en un pre venuz.
 Sur une ewe curant descent." (Vv. 43-45.)

The difference between M and the English is seen to be very slight. Surely the translator could put in a forest without seeing it in his original. He unde-

¹ Cf. Hertz, Spielmannsbuch, p. 324; G. Paris, Hist. Litt. XXX 9.

² Filled out by means of R and F. P is substantially the same. C is changed by the exigencies of the stanza.

nably put in the point of the compass. Compare, too, his "a water" with Marie's "une ewe," which is not in the Graelent.

- (2) "But of o þyng, sir knyȝt, j warne þe,
þat þou make no bost of me." (C 361-2.)
 "Ne make ye neuer bost of me." (R 160.)
 "But one thing, Knight, I thee forefendant,
That of mee thou neuer auant." (P 191-2.)
 "Of one thyng syr I the defendaunte
Of me syr to make thyne avaunte." (H 181-2.)

These lines (H, P, and C) Kolls refers to G 302, 319:

- "Mais une chose vus deffent." (G 302.)
 "Gardés que pas ne vus vantés." (G 319.)

It is perhaps rather arbitrary to select two lines so far apart and fit them together in this way. At any rate, one should read what follows G 302 and compare the corresponding place in M before accepting the argument:

- "Mais une chose vus deffent,
Que ne dirés parole aperte,
Dunt notre amurs seit descouverte." (G 302-4.)
 "Amis, fet ele, or vus chasti,
Si vus comant e si vus pri:
Ne vus descovrez a nul hume." (M 143-5.)

Notice also what follows G 319:

- "Gardés que pas ne vus vantés
De chose par quoi me perdés." (G 319-20.)

The proper comparison, then, is between x and G 302-4 and M 143-5. The reading of x seems to have been nearly as follows:

- "But of o þyng i warne þe,
Ne make þou neuer bost of me."

And this is surely as near to M as it is to G. Kolls doubtless supposed (as was perhaps natural in the absence of R) that x had the rhymes *defendaunt* or *forefendaunt* (an extraordinary verb) and *avaunt*, and this led him to think of G 301, 319. But even if x had been as he thought it, the verb *vanter* occurs often enough in M with reference to the boast made by Lanval. Thus we have "De tel ami se vanta" (v. 322), "Vantez vus estes de folie" (v. 369), "De l'amur dunt il se vanta" (v. 379), "D'une amur dunt il se vanta" (v. 443), "De la vantage que il fist" (v. 640). Besides, if none of these phrases occurred in M, we should not be justified in hanging an argument on such a commonplace as an injunction of secrecy in a love affair. "Avauntor" was almost a technical term for a lover who could not hold his tongue. See Chaucer, Nonne Prestes Tale, v. 97, and especially Troilus and Criseyde (ii 724-728), where Cressida says to herself:

"Ne auauntour seyth men certeyn is he non ;
 To wys is he to do so gret a nyse.
 Ne als I nel hym neuere so cherice
 That he may make avaunt by juste cause,—
 He shal me neuere bynde yn swich a clause." (Cf. iii 302-322, 478.)

Exhortations to silence in love are almost countless:

"Be diligent and trewe and ay wel hide,"

says Pandarus to his friend (Id. i 950), and that was the best counsel the Middle Ages had to give.¹

(3) P 251-2, H 239-40. G 117-18.

And as moche desyre I the
 As Arthoure the kynge so fre. (H.)

The passage in Graelent is far from conclusive:

Unques n'amai fors mun seignur,
 Mais jeo vus aim de bune amur.

(Graelent, vv. 117-18, I 494.)

It will be observed that the English is by no means a translation of the French. R reads:

And as moche desire I the yere
 As the kyng and moche more. (Vv. 213-14.)

(4) P 377-8, D 30-31, C 832-33. This Kolls supposes to go back to G 529-31 without doubt, there being nothing, he says, in M which can be called analogous (p. 42).

"He bad hym bryng hys Lemon in sight,
 And he answeret, that he ne myght." (D.)

"Il li demande ù est s'amie.
 Sire, dist-il, nel' amain mie,
 Jeo ne la puis noient avoir." (Graelent, vv. 529-31, I 524.)

Kolls is mistaken in saying that M offers nothing analogous. Cf. the following lines :

"Al chevalier unt enveié,
 E si li unt dit e nuncié
 Que s'amie face venir
 Pur lui tenser e guarentir.
 Il lur a dit qu'il ne porreit :
 Ja par li sucurs nen avreit."

(Lai de Lanval, vv. 464-468, ed. Warnke, p. 104.)

¹ Compare the much discussed stanza of Meinloh von Sevelingen, Lachmann u. Haupt, Des Minnesangs Frühling, 3d ed., p. 14, ll. 24-25 (see Paul, Beiträge, II 419). Mr. C. H. Grandgent has kindly given me several Provençal citations which all look the same way (Bartsch, Chrest. Prov. 4th ed., p. 88, ll. 21-2, p. 90, ll. 12-13; Raynouard, Choix des poésies, III 213, 226, 275; V 329). "Nicht minder wichtig ist verschwiegenheit, ja sie ist bedingung treuer liebe," Diez, Poesie der Troubadours, 2d ed., p. 129. There are plenty of instances in Old French. Blancandin, vv. 1045-50, ed. Michelant, p. 36, may serve as an example. There is no occasion to multiply references.

The fact that this passage is not translated by *x* in its proper place—*x* going right on from M 462 (P 414) to M 473 (P 415)—is additional reason for regarding the passage cited by Kolls as derived from Marie, and not from Graelent.

(5) P 576, C 1009, R 492. G 646.

"She leaped on her palfray." (P 576.)

"þe lady lep an hyr palfray." (C 1009.)

"And lepe vpon hir palfrey." (R 492.)

"E munte sor sun palefroi." (G 646.)

This is a mere bit of detail which the English translator, who often adds lines, may be credited with wit enough to devise for himself.

(6) P 617-8; C 1018-19, G 648, 653.

"This Lady now the right way numm
With her maids all and some." (P.)

"þe lady tok her maydenys achon
And wente þe way þat sche hadde er gon." (C.)

"So they Rodyn euyn ryghte
The lady the Maydyns and the knyghte. (R 522-3.)

"De la sale se départi,
Ses puceles ensanble od li." (G 647-8, I 534.)

"Tant unt lor droit chemin tenu." (G 653.)

This is another mere trifle, proving nothing one way or the other.

These six passages, then, are some of them accounted for by M, the rest too insignificant to serve as proof. If the theses of Dr. Kolls were extremely probable *a priori*, they might, if accompanied by many others, corroborate that probability; but as things stand they do not even create a presumption—unless, to be sure, they create a presumption *against* contamination of M by G. Would contamination have affected these inconspicuous lines and left the whole fabric of the story untouched? For it is not the influence of one MS on another that is here in question, but the contamination of one story by another. It is entirely probable that the author of *x* did not have an immaculate copy of M to work with, but there is nothing to show that his copy was any more corrupt than the MSS of Marie that exist to-day. Still less likely is it that his copy had been influenced by any outside poem, the Graelent or another.

We have succeeded, then, in forming a pretty satisfactory family-tree for the English Launfal. With this in hand, it is possible to make up one's mind rather definitely as to what lines the

version *x* had. The Rawlinson MS, here printed, will be found, I think, to represent more accurately the number of lines contained in that version than any other copy we have. Nearly every verse of R can be proved for *x*, and, though full of corrupt readings, R is freer from interpolations than either H¹ or P.

In printing R, no departure has been made from the MS without due notice, and no attempt has been made to "restore" the text. Punctuation and capitals have been regulated, but the note at the end of the text registers every change made in these matters. Italics denote expanded contractions. There are no hyphens in the MS. Forms printed with a hyphen are written separatis. The initials of vv. 1, 325 and 390, are written large. The manuscript is not divided into paragraphs.

LANDAVALL.

[fol. 120]

Sothly by Arthurys day
 Was Bretayne yn grete nobyle,
 For yn hys tyme a grete whyle
 He soioured at Carlile.
 He had *with* hym a meyne there, 5
 As he had ellys where,
 Of the rounde table the knyghtes alle,
 With myrth and joye yn hys halle.
 Of eache lande yn the worlde wyde
 There came men on *every* syde, 10
 Yonge knyghtes and squyers
 And othir bolde b[a]chelers,
 Forto se that nobly
 That was with Arthur alle-wey ;
 For ryche yeftys and tresour, 15
 He gayf to eache man of honoure.
With hym there was a bachiller,
 A yonge knyght of mushe myght,
 Sir Landevale for soith he hight.
 Sir Landevale spent blythely 20
 And yaf yeftes largely ;
 So wildely his goode he sette
 That he felle yn grete dette
 " Who hath no good, goode can he none ;
 And I am here in vncutl londe, 25
 And no gode haue vnder honde.

Title, MS landavall. 7, 11 MS kynghter. 18 MS kyngh. 25 Read, vncuth.

¹ For a curious interpolation in H see H 377-406 (D 32-61) and cf. P 379-394. All these verses are unknown to C, M, and G (as Kolls, p. 43, has noted), and to R as well. Some of them must have stood in *x*.

Men wille me hold for a wreche;
 Where I be-come I ne reche."
 He lepe vpon a coursier,
 With-oute grome or squier,
 And rode forthe yn a mornynge
 To dryve a-wey longynge.
 Then he takyth towarde *the west*
 Be-twene a water and a forest.
 The sonne was hote that vndern tyde,

30

He lyghte a-downe *and* wolde a-byde.

35

[fol. 120, back]

For he was hote yn the weddir,
 Hys mantelle he toke *and* foldē to-geder;
 Than lay downe that knyght so free
 Vndre the shadow of a tree.

40

"Alas!" he saide, "no good I haue.
 How shalle I doo? I can not craue.
 Alle the knyghtes, *that* ben so feers,
 Of the rounde table, *they* were my pyers,—
 Euyer man of me was glade,

45

And now they be for me full saide."
 "Alas! alas!" was his songe;
 Sore wepyng his hondis he wronge.

Thus he lay yn sorrow fulle sore;
 Than he sawe comynge oute of holtes hore
 Owte of the forest cam maydyns two,
 The fayrest on grounde *that* myght goo.
 Kyrtyls they had of purpul sendelle,

50

Smalle i-laside sytting welle,
 Mantels of grene velvet
 Frengide with golde were wele i-sette.

They had on a tyre therwith-alles,
 And eache of them a joly cornalle,
 Wit facys white as lely floure,
 Wit ruddy rede as rose coloure;

55

Fayrer women neuer he see,
 They semyd angels of hevin hie.
 That one bare a golde basyne,
 That othir a towail riche *and* fyne.

To hym warde come the maydyns gent;
 The knyght anon agaynse hem went:

60

"Wel-come," he saide, "damsels fre."
 "Sir knyght," they seide, "wel thu be.

My lady, that is as bright as floure,
 The gretith Landavale paramoure.
 Ye must come and speke *with* her,
 Yef it be your wille, sir."

65

[fol. 121]

"I graunt," he saide, "blythely,"
 And went with them hendlily.
 Anone he in that forest syde
 A paulylione i-pight an hy, 75
 With treysour i-wrought on euery syde,
 Al of werke of the faryse.
 Eche pomelle of that pavilione
 Was worth a citie or a towne ;
 Vpon the cupe an heron was,—
 A richeer no-wher ne was,—
 In his mouthe a carboncle bright,
 As the mone that shone light.
 Kyng Alexander the conquerour, 80
 Ne Salamon yn hys honour,
 Ne Charlemayn, the riche kyng,
 They had neuer suche a thing.
 He founde yn that pavilione
 The kynges daughter of Amylione,—
 That ys an ile of the fayre 85
 In occian fulle faire to see.
 There was a bede of mekylle price,
 Coueride with purpille byse.
 There-on lay that maydyn bright, 90
 Almost nakyde and vp-right.
 Al her clothes by-side her lay,
 Syngly was she wrappyde parfay
 With a mauntelle of hermyne,
 Coveride was with Alexanderyne.
 The mauntelle for hete downe she dede
 Right to hir gyrdille stede.

[fol. 121, back]

She was white as lely in May
 Or snowe that fallith yn wynterday.
 Blossom on b[r]iere ne no floure 105
 Was not like to her colour.
 The rede rose whan it is newe
 To her rud is not of hewe.
 Her heire shone as gold wire ;
 No man can telle her atyre.
 "Landavale," she seide, "myn hert swete,
 For thy loue now I swete.
 There is kyng ne emperour,
 And I loyld hym paramor
 As moche as I do the, 110
 But he wolde be full glad of me."
 Landevale be-helde the maydyn bright,
 Her loue persyde hys hert right ;
 He sette hym down by her syde.

"Lady," quod he, "what so be-tyde,
Euer more, lowde *and* styll,
I am redy at your wylle."

120

"Sir knyght," she said, "curteyse *and* hende,
I know thy state euyer ende.

Wilt thou truliche the to me take,
And alle other for me forsake?

125

And I wille yeue the grette honoure,
Golde inough and grete tresoure.

Hardely spende largely,

130

Yife yestes blythely,

Spende and spare not for my loue,
Thow shalt inough to thy be-hove."

Tho she saide to his desyre,

He clyppide her a-bowte the swire,
And kyssyde her many a sith,

135

For her profer he thankyd hir swyth.

This lady was sithe vp sette

And bad hir maydyns mete fette,

And to thir handes water clere,

And sothyns went to souperie.

140

Bothe they to-gedirs sette;

The maydyns seruyd theym of mete,
Of mete and dryng they had plentie,

Of alle thing that was deyne.

After soper the day was gone,

145

To bedde they went both anone.

Alle that nyght they ley yn fere

And did what thir wille were.

For pley they slepyde litille *that* nyght.

Tho it be-gan to dawe light:

150

"Landavale," she saide, "goo hens now.

Gold and syluer take *with* you;

Spend largely on euyer man,

I wille fynd you inough than.

And when ye wille, gentil knyght,

155

Speke *with* me any night,

To sum derne stede ye goo

And thynke on me soo *and* soo.

Anone to you shalle I tee.

Ne make ye neuer bost of me;

160

And yff thou doyst, be ware be-forn,

For thow hast my loue for-lorn."

The maydeyns bringe hys horse anone,

He toke hys leue *and* went sone.

165

Of tresoure he hath grete plentie

[fol. 122, back] And ridith forth yn-to the ciete.

123 MS kynghyt. 128, 132 MS I nougħt. 137 sithe : MS seid (*a* blotted). 154 MS I nougħt.
155 MS kynghyt. 157 To : MS The. sum : MS sunñi.

He commythe home to hys in,
And mery he makyth hym ther-in.
Hym sylf he clothyd^e ffull^e richely,
Hys squyer, hys yoman honestly.
Landavale makyth nobile festes,
Landevale clothys the pore gestes,
Landevale byith grette stedes,
Landevale yeuythe riche wedys,
Landevale rewardedit^e religiouse,
And acquiteth^e the prisoners,
Landevale clothes gaylours,
Landevale doith^e eache man honours.
Of his largesse eche man wote,
But how it comythe no man wote.
And he wille, derne or stelle,
Hys loue ys redy at his wylle.

170

Vpon a tyme Sir Gawayne,
The curteys knyght, and Sir Ewayne,
And Sir Landavale with them also,
And othir knyghtes twente or moo,
Went to play theym on a grene
Vnder the towre where was the quene.
Thyse knyghtes with borde playd^e tho ;
Atte the last to daunsyng they goo.
Sir Landevale was to-fore i-sette ;
For his largesse he was louyd the better.
The quene hersylf be-held alle this.

180

"Vender," she saide, "ys Landavalle.
Of alle the knyghtes that bene here
There is none so faire a bacylere.
And he haue noder leman ne wyfe,
I wold he louyde me as his life.
Tide me good or tyde me ille,
I will assay the knyghtes wille."

195

She toke wit^e her a company
Of faire laydys thyrt^e ;
She goithe a-downe a-none righte
For to daunce wit^e the knyghte.
The queene yede to the first ende
Be-twene Landavale and the Gawayne so hende,
And alle her maydens forth a-right,
One be one be-twyxt eche knyght.
Whan the daunsyng was i-slakyde,
The quene Landavale to concelle hath takyde.
Shortely she saide, " Thu gentil knyght,
I the loue with alle my myght.

205

210

[fol. 123]

174 MS wedyous (?) 177 Read, gestours. 184 MS kyngh^t. 186, 189 MS kyngh^tes.
192 Read, bet. 193 Read, this alle. 195, 200 MS kyngh^tes. 203 MS perhaps Rightes.
204 MS kyngh^t; or perhaps, kyngh^tes. 208, 211 MS kyngh^t. 212 MS wiht.

And as moche desire I the yere
 As the kyng and moche more.
 Goode is to the tanne hap
 To loue more me than any woman." 215

"Madame," he saide, "be God, nay.
 I wilbe traitoure neuer, parfay.
 I haue do the kyng othe *and* seaulte ;
 He shalle not [be] be-traid for me." 220

"Fy," said she, "thow fowle cowarde,
 An harlot ribawde I wote *thou* harte.
 That thow liuest it is pite.
 Thow lovyst no woman ne no woman the." 225

The knyght was agreeud thou,
 He her ansurid *and* saide noo,
 "Madame," quod he, "thu seist thi wille.
 Yet can I loue, derne *and* stelle,
 And am I loued and haue a leman
 As gentille *and* as faire as any man.
 The semplest maide with her, I wene,
 Over the may be a quene." 230

Tho was she a-shamyd *and* wrothe ;
 She clepid her maydens bothe ;
 To bede she goithe alle drery,
 For doole she wold dye and was sory.
 The kyng came from huntyng,
 Glade and blithet yn alle thing,
 And to the quene can he tee.
 Anone she fel vpon her kne ; 240

Wonder lowde can she crie :
 "A! helpe me, lorde, or I die !
 I speake to Landavale on a game,
 And he be-shought me of shame,
 As a foule viced tratoure ;
 He wold haue done me dishonour.
 And of a leman bost he maide,
 That werst maide *that* she hade
 Myght be a quene ouer me,—
 And alle, lorde, in dispite of the." 245

The kyng was wondir wrothe,
 And forthe-withe swore hys othe,
 That Landavale shulde bide by the lawe,
 Be bothe hangyd and drawe ;
 And commanded iiiij knyghtes
 Tho fetche the traitoure anone rightes.
 They iiiij fechyg hym anone,
 But Landavale was to chamber gone. 255

215 MS Goge (?). Tanne hap, so MS. 224 MS lavyst (?). 225 MS kynghht. 225 MS agreed.
 238 blithet, so MS. 240 MS kene. 255 MS kynghter. 257 MS anonon.

[fol. 124]

Alas ! he hath hys loue for-lorne,
As she warnyd hym be-forne.
Ofte he clepid her and sought,
And yet it gayneth^e hym nought.
He wept and sobbet *with* rufulle cry
And on hys kneys he askythe mercy,
And cursed hys mouth *that* of hir speake.

260

"O," he said, "gentille creature,
How shalle my wrechyd body endure
That worldes blysse hath for-lore ?
And he *that* I am vnder arrest for—"
With shuche sorowe alas ! that stounde,
With that he fel dede on the grounde,
So long that *the* knyghtes comyn
And ther so they hym namyd,
And as theff hym ladde soo ;
Than was his sorow doble woo.

270

He was brought before the kyng.
Thus he hym grete at the begynnnyng.—
"Thow atteynt, takyn traytoure,
Be-soughest *thou* my wiff of dishonour ?
That she lothely *thou* dedist vpbrayde
That of thy leman the lest mayde
Was fayrer than ys my wyffe ;
Therefore shalt *thou* lose thy lyfse."
Landavale ansuryd at hys borde,
And told hym the sothe euery worde,

275

That it was nothing so ;
And he was redy for to die tho
That alle the countrey wold looke.
Twelue knyghtes were drenyn to a boke
The sothe to say and no leese
Alle to gedir as it was.

280

Thise vij wist withe-outen wene
Alle the maner of the quene ;
The kyng was good alle aboue,
And she was wyckyd oute and oute,
For she was of suche comforte
She loyvd men ondir her lorde.
Ther-by wist *thei* it was alle
Longe on her and not on Landavalle.
Herof they quytten hym as treue men,
And sithe spake they farder then,—
That yf he myght hys leman bryng^e,
Of whom^e he maide knolishyng^e ;
And yf her may deuyse bryght and shyne
Werne fairer than the quene

285

290

295

300

[fol. 124, back]

269 MS a rest.

280 So in MS.

272 MS kyngh.

289 MS kynghetes.

273 Read, nomyn.

292 Read, xij.

299 MS Landewalle (?).

304 may deuyse : read perhaps, maydenys.

278 MS Thaw (?).

In makyng, semblaunt, and hewe,
They wold quyte hym gode and true.
Yff he ne myght stound *ther*-tille,
Thann to be at the kynges wille.
This verdite thei yef to-sore the kyng; 310
The day was sett her for to bryng;
Borowys he founde to come ayene,
Sir Gawayne and Sir Ewyne.

"Alas," quod he, "now shalle I die!
My loue shalle I neuer see with ee." 315
Ete ne drynke wold he neuer;
But wepyng and sorowynge evire,
Syres, sare sorrow hath he noun;
He wold hys endyng day wer come,
That he myght ought of life goo. 320
Every man was for hym woo,
For larger knyght than he
Was *ther* neuer yn that countrey.

[fol. 125]

The day i-sett com on hy[y]nge;
His borowys hym brought before the kyng. 325
The kyng lett recorte tho
The sewt and the answer also,
And bad hym bryng his borowis in syghte.
Landevalle sayde that he ne myghte.
Tho were commaundyd the barons alle 330
To gyve judgement on Sir Landevalle.
Then sayd the Erle of Cornwaylle,
That was att the councelle:
"Lordynges, ye wott the kyng our lorde,
His ounē mowthe berythe recorde, 335
Ther yf we go by the lawe
Landevale is worthy to be drawe.
Butt greatt vilany were ther-vpon
To for-do suche a man,
That is more large and fre 340
Then eny of vs that here be.
Therfore by oure reade
We wollē the kyng in suche a way lede
That he shalle commandē hym to goo
Oute of this lande for euer mo." 345

While they stode thus spekyng,
They sawe in fere cum rydyng
Two maydyns whyte as flower,
On whyte palfrays with honour;
So fayre creaturys with ien 350
Ne better attyryde were neuer seen.

318 Read, nome.

320 MS goo : MS has a mark like an inverted breve over the second o.

322 MS kyngh.

328 borowis : read, leman.

	Alle the iudgyde theym so sheen That one dame Gaynour they myght be a queen. Then sayde Gawen, that curteys knyght,—	355
[fol. 125, back]	" Landevale, care the no wyght ; Here commyth thy leman kynde i-core, For whom thou art anoiede sore." Landevale lokyd and said, " Nay, i-wisse, My leman of hem ther none is."	360
	Thise maidens come so riding In to the castelle before the king. They light a-down <i>and</i> grete hym so And be-sought hym of a chamber tho, A place for their lady <i>that</i> was cummyng.	365
	Than said Arthour, the nobill king : " Who is <i>your</i> lady and what to done ?" " Lord," quod they, " ye may wetyne sone." The king lete for her sake The fairest chamber to be take.	370
	Thise maidens gone to bowre on hye, Than said the king to his baronyns : " Haue i-do and gyve iugement." The barones saide : " Verament We haue be-helde these maidens bright. We will do anone right."	375
	A new speche began they tho, Summe said wele and summe said not so, Summe wolde hym to dothe deen Ther king theire lorde for to guene. Summe hym wolde make clere.	380
	And while they spake thus in fere Other maidens ther commyn tho, Well more fairer than the other two, Riding vpon moiles of Spayne, Bothe sadelles <i>and</i> bridels of Almayne ;	385
	They were i-clothed in a tire, And eache aman had grete desire To be-holde her gentrise, They came in so faire assise. Than sade Gawayne the hende ;	390
[fol. 126]	" Landevale, broder, heder <i>thou</i> wende. Here commyth thy loue <i>thou</i> maist wel se ; That one herof I wote ys she." Landevale with dropyng thought : " Nay, alas ! I know them nougnt.	395
	I ne wot who they beith, Ne whens they come ne whethir they lith."	

352 Read, they (?). 353 Read, ouer. 371 Read, baronye (?)
378 Read, deem. 379 Read, queme (cf. p. 11, n. 1).

These maidens reden yn to the paleys
 Right a-fore the kynges deys
 And gretith hym and his quene eke.
 That one of them thise wordys spake :
 " Sir riche kyng Arthure,
 Lete dight thyn halle with honoure,
 Bothe rose and grounde *and walles*,
 With clothys of gold and riche palle[s] 400
 Yet it is lothely yef thou so doo
 My lady for to light ther-to."
 The kyng said : " So shalle it be.
 My lady ys welcome and soo be ye."
 He bade Sir Gawayne bryng hem yn fere
With honour there the othir were. 410
 The quene ther-fore trowid of gyle,
 That Landevale shuld be holbyn in awhile
 Of his leman that ys cōmmyng :
 She cried and saide, " Lorde and kyng,
 And thou louyst thyne honour,
 I were a-venged on that tratour ;
 To sle Landevale thou woldest not spare.
 Thy barons do the besmare." 415

[fol. 126, back]

While she spake thus to the kyng,
 They saw where came ridyng
 A lady her self alle alone,
 On erthe fayrer was neuer none,
 On a white palfrey comlye.
 There nesse kyng *that* hath gold ne fee
 That myght by *that* palfrey 420
With-oute sellyng of lond awey.
 This lady bright as blossomē on brere,
 Her ieene lofe-sum bright and clere,
 Tentylle and iolyffz as birde on boweh,
 In alle thing faire y-nough ; 426
 As rose in May her rude was rede,
 Here here shynyng on her hede
 As gold wyre yn somer bright ;
 In this worlde nat so faire a wight.
 A crowne was vpon her hede 431
 Al of precious stones and gold rede.
 Clothid she was in purpylle palle,
 Her body gentille and medille smale.
 The pane of hir mantelle in-warde
 On hir harmes she foldid owte-warde,
 Whiche wel be-came that lady. 435

440

399 MS kynghter.

404 MS Rose.

419 the, MS thy.

429 MS Ieene.

434 MS careless; perhaps meant for sonne.

436 Read, nas.

442 MS welbe came.

Thre white gre-houndes went hyr by;
 A sparow-hauke she bare vpon hir hande;
 A softe paas her palfrey commaunde.
 Throw the citie rode she,
 For every man shuld hir see.
 Wiff and childe, yong and olde,
 Al come hir to by-holde.

445

[fol. 127]

There was man ne woman that myght
 Be wery of so faire a sight.
 Also sone as Landevale hir see,
 To alle the lordys he cryed on he:

450

"Now commy whole loue, now commy whole swete;
 Now commy whole she my bale shall beete:
 Now I haue her seyne with myne ee,
 I ne reke when that I dye."

455

The damselle come rydyng stoute (?)
 A-lone yn the citie throw-oute,
 Throw the palys yn to the halle,
 Ther was the kyng, the quene alle.
 Her iiij maidens with gret honoure
 A-gayne her came oute of the bowre,
 And helde her steroppys so;
 The lady dyd a-light tho,
 And they gently can hyr grete,
 And she hym with wordys swete.
 The quene and othir ladies stoute
 Be-helde her alle aboute;
 They to her were also donne
 As the mone-lyght to the sonne.
 Than euery man had grete deynnte
 Her to be-holde and preseith hir beaute.

460

Than saide the lady to the kyng:

"Sir, I come for shuche a thynge,—

470

My trew leman, Sir Landevelle,
 Is accusyd a-monges you alle
 That he shuld with tratoury
 Beseeche the quene of velony.
 That ys fals, by Seynt Iame;

475

He bad her not, but she bad hym.
 And of that othir that he saide,
 That my tholiest maide
 Was fairer than the quene,—

480

Loke a-none yf yt so bene."

485

The kyng be-held and sawe the southe,
 Also erlys and barons bothe,
 Euery lorde said than
 Landevale was a trew man.

[fol. 127, back]

443 Thre : MS There. 445 So in MS. 460 MS throw. 463 MS A gayne.
 465 tho : MS has a mark like an inverted breve over the o. 483 Read, lothliest.

- When the iugement gyvyn was, 490
 At the kyng her leue she takys
 And lepe vpon hir palfrey
 And be-toke them to gode and goode day.
 The kyng full fare and alle his
 Besechit hir *with-outyne* mys
 Longer to make soiournyng,
 She said nay and thankyd the kyng.
 Landevale saw hys loue wold gone,
 Vpon hir horse he lepe anone
 And said, "Lady, my leman bright, 500
 I wille *with* the, my swete wight,
 Whedir ye ride or goo,
 Ne wille I neuer parte you fro."
 "Landevale," she said, "*with-outyne* lette.
 Whan we ffirst to-gedir mete 505
 With dern loue *with-outen* stryfe,
 I chargyd you yn alle *your* lyffe
 That ye of me neuer speke shulde;
 How dare ye now be so bolde
 With me to ride *with-oute* leve?
 Ye ought to thyng ye shuld me greue."
 "Lady," he said, "faire and goode, 510
 For his loue that shed his blode,
 For-yese me that trespace
 And put me hole yn *your* grace."
 [fol. 128] Than that lady to hym can speke, 515
 And said to hym *with* wordys meke:
 "Landevale, lemman, I you for-gyve.
 That trespace while ye leue.
 Welcome to me, gentille knyghte; 520
 We wolle neuer twyn day ne nyghte."
 So they rodyn euyn ryghe,
 The lady, the maydyns, and the knyghte.
 Loo, howe love is lefe to wyn
 Of wemen that arn of gentylle kyn!
 The same way haue they nomyn 525
 Ryghe as before she was commyn.
 And thus was Landevale broughte from Cardoylle,
 With his fere into a ioly yle,
 That is clepyde Amylyone, 530
 That knowith euery Brytane.
 Of hym syns herde neuer man;
 No further of Landevale tellle I can;
 Butt god, for his greatt mercy,
 Bryng vs to his blysse on highe. 535
 Amen

Explicit.

PUNCTUATION.

The MS has no marks of punctuation except the familiar pen-stroke / at the end of a line, and even this is used with great irregularity. It occurs after the following lines: 2-5 (i. e. 2, 3, 4, 5), 7-10, 14, 17-19, 23, 28-31, 33-35, 37-46, 48-50, 52-54, 56, 61, 62, 66, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 87, 91, 94, 101, 105-12, 115-17, 119, 121, 124-8, 132, 138-45, 147, 148, 151, 157-60, 164-5, 172, 174, 186, 190, 192, 199, 200, 205, 206, 209, 211, 213-14, 219, 222, 225-6, 234, 238-9, 241-5, 247-51, 253-4, 257-9, 261, 263, 265-9, 271-2, 274-7, 279-84, 286-90, 292-7, 299, 301-7, 309-16, 319-22, 324, 391-2, 397-9, 401-11, 413, 419, 422-5, 428-30, 436-9, 445-7, 449, 451-2, 454-64, 467-73, 475-7, 482, 484-6, 488, 490-2, 495-9, 502, 504-7, 513-19. It is but once used in the middle of a line; in v. 71 after "and."

CAPITALS.

All the lines begin with capitals except 2, 13, 15, 29, 112, 118, 130, 164, 167, 169, 220, 226, 246, 267, 296, 300, 326, 329, 334, 337, 372, 439, 473, 499, 506, 510, 514, 525.

Proper names, etc., begin with a small letter in the following cases: *title*, 2, 87, 184 (*sir ewayne*), 206 (*landavale . . . gawyne*), 217 (*god*), 313 (*ewyne*), 329, 331 (*sir landevalle*), 337, 354, 384, 418, 476 (*sir*), 534 (*god*).

Past participles with the prefix *i-* are always written *I* in the MS, as, *I slakyde*, v. 209.

Other capitals not so printed in the text (or indicated in the foot-notes) appear as follows:

A: the indefinite article, 339, 343, 353, 363, 529; other words, 327 (*Answer*), 357, 362 (*A down*).

B: 11 (*Bolde B[a]chelors*), 17, 63, 69, 83, 117, 146 (*Both*), 173, 189, 196, 247, 276, 330, 391, 419 (*Barons*), 487.

C: 29, 60, 80, 81, 106, 110, 166, 221, 258, 263, 266, 288, 323, 333, 350, 361, 436, 446, 459.

D: 23, 36, 67, 90, 119, 133, 144, 145, 150, 161, 178, 181, 190, 203, 204, 209, 219, 235, 236 (*Doole . . . Dye*), 246 (*Done . . . Dishonoure*), 254, 271, 275, 279, 280, 316, 324, 394, 399, 403, 406, 458, 470, 472, 506, 509.

E: 487.

F: 205.

H: 170.

I, J: 8 (*Joye*), 58 (*Joly*), 167 (*In*), 168 (*In*), 250 (*In*), 331 (*Judgement*), 350 (*Ien*), 352 (*Judgyde*), 374 (*Jugement*), 389 (*In*), 430 (*Iolyffe*), 440 (*In*), 490 (*Jugement*), 529 (*Ioly*).

K: 325, 368, 371, 402.

L: 442, 468, 498, 506, 523.

M: 51, 65, 83, 95, 99, 117, 138, 142, 163, 207, 231, 234, 281, 306, 348, 398, 432, 462, 483, 523.

N: 156, 217.

R: 15, 82, 87, 107 (*Rede*), 108, 118, 166, 169, 174, 175 (*verb*), 203, 207, 222, 256, 342, 347, 360, 375, 402, 404, 405, 421, 432 (*Rude*), 446, 458, 522.

S: 11, 30, 49, 50, 53, 71, 104, 112, 129, 134, 140, 151, 157 (*Suñ*), 265, 318 (*Sorow*), 385, 401, 427, 444, 488.

T: 64, 77, 128, 215, 318.

W: 9, 104 (?).

Y: 529.

The **A** used in writing the indefinite article is perhaps not intended by the scribe as a capital letter. The MS does not begin direct quotations with a capital.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

II.—THE LATIN ADJECTIVE.¹

In the latter part of my article on the active signification of the adjective in *-bilis* in archaic Latin, which recently appeared in the *Philologus* (Neue Folge I 2, p. 274–290), I set forth some investigations into the accusative of the object, taking as a basis Paul's hypothesis (*Principien der Sprachgeschichte*², Halle, 1886) that the object arose through the doubling of the subject.³ This contribution to the theory of the cases is to be regarded only as a preliminary remark, which I purpose on some future occasion to establish and demonstrate more accurately. I have entered only so far into the subject as seemed to me necessary to show the congruence of certain distinctions of meaning in adjectives in *-bilis*, which come under the different categories into which I have classified the accusative of the object.

I have allowed myself to be influenced by still another similar thought of linguistic philosophy, which Paul has also presented, upon which I have not as yet expressed myself, and upon which I would like to dwell in this article. Just as the accusative of the object is to be regarded as a second, subordinate subject by side

¹ In the present paper I should like to submit to the consideration of a larger public, some thoughts which I am accustomed to set forth at some length in my lectures on Greek and Latin Syntax in the University of Leipzig. By reason of the lively interest which Americans take in the linguistic feature of classic philology, it is most agreeable to me that the courtesy of the editor has allowed me this opportunity of presenting these thoughts to the public through the *American Journal of Philology*.

² [“Das logische verhältniss zweier subiecte zu dem nämlichen prädicate kann aber auch ein verschiedenartiges sein. Dann haben wir die grundlage zu der im laufe der sprachentwicklung möglich werdenden differenzierung der doppelsubiecte zu subject und object. Wir können uns diesen process am besten verdentlichen an einem satze wie *ich rieche den braten*. Ohne persönliches subject können wir auch noch sagen *der braten riecht*. Wir können uns danach leicht in eine zeit zurückversetzen wie *ich rieche braten* oder *braten rieche ich*, die wörter *ich* und *braten* unter dieselbe allgemeine kategorie des psychologischen subjects fielen. Die verwandtschaft zwischen subject und object erhellt ja auch daraus, dass das letztere durch umsetzung des verbums in das passivum zum ersteren gemacht werden kann.”—p. 113.]

of the real subject, so also has arisen—through the doubling of the predicate—a second predicate, viz. an adjective-attribute by the side of the real predicate. How this could occur Paul has most happily shown (p. 114). In fact, the only essential difference between the adjective and the verb is a purely formal one. The verb has grown together with the personal-endings, which, as we know, were really pronouns performing the functions of subjects. The adjective, though by a process of purely external assimilation, has taken on the case-endings of the noun.

In spite of this difference in the process, an essential difference of meaning between adjective and verb cannot be asserted. In general, however, we can say that the adjective expresses properties, the verb action or state. But we can hardly find a decided distinction between the ideas "property" and "action or state." The distinction appears to be virtually a temporal one. We regard a condition or an action as more sharply restricted in time than a property. We can see this best in those participles¹ which become adjectives. *Abditus* e. g. has as a participle a clearly defined temporal force; *res abdita* is e. g., if we regard *abdita* as a participle, something which was concealed at a certain time and remained a fixed time in concealment. *Abditus*, however, as an adjective is not thus temporarily restricted; for example, in *regio abdita* we conceive neither the beginning nor the end of the state of being concealed. Accordingly we should look for the chief distinction between the adjective and the verb in the temporal sphere. But this border is not clearly defined, for the adjectives can have also a certain temporal coloring, and the sharp discrimination of tense was not originally to be found in the verb, but has gradually developed itself. Through comparative philology we are carried back to a period of speech in which there existed only a timeless present, while the preterite was indicated by means of particles (cf. Brugmann in the *Handbuch für Altertumswissenschaft*, §§156 and 109). We have just as little right to consider the more exact discriminations of the voices or of the moods as something characteristic of the verb, for the like exists also in the adjective.

This only is unquestionable, viz. that tense, voice, and mood are more strongly emphasized in the verb than in the adjective. In the verb they appear in a clear light, in the adje-

¹ The participle, as we know, combines verbal signification with adjective form.

tive they lie in uncertain darkness. But these distinctions are not foreign to the adjective, and what I should like to show in the present article is that the doctrine of time, voice, and mood should not be confined to the predicate proper, the verb, but should be extended to the second, subordinate predicate, the adjective.

These distinctions, indeed, cannot in the adjective be expressed by special flectional forms. But in this respect the adjective has only preserved that which formerly was characteristic of the verb also. The present-stem, the perfect-stem, and the aorist-stem had, as is well known, originally no temporal meaning; the distinction between active and passive found also originally no expression in the form of the verb (cf. my article on the active signification of the adjective in *-bilis*, p. 287), and we may presume that once upon a time the optative also and the subjunctive were not flectional forms, but special phases of the stem-formation, which originally stood on the same footing with the different present-stems, perfect-stems, aorist-stems, etc. Then, too, the development of the notions, tense, mood, voice in the adjective was by no means the same as in the verb, and just this circumstance makes this subject an especially interesting one.

I begin with those distinctions of meaning in the Latin adjective which correspond to the distinctions between the voices in the verb. Our lexicons are accustomed to transfer to the adjective, without change, the distinction between active and passive, just as it is found in the verb. In doing this, however, they make a great mistake, as in fact I have shown for the adjectives I examined in the above-mentioned paper. The division which I there made can, I believe, now be made general and extended to all Latin adjectives. I distinguish accordingly the following four classes, simplifying somewhat the categories used in the above-mentioned article:

1. The *active proper*, in which the subject is considered as the independent source of the action: e. g. *agricola agrum colit*.
2. The *instrumental active*, in which the subject serves only as an instrument. This is a distinction of meaning which the Latin language has sharply defined by the use of *a* with the ablative, to express the agent or person acting; by the use of the simple ablative to express the means or instrument in connection with the passive. In the verb, indeed, the real active and the instrumental active are not to be distinguished, and it is only in the stylistic rule (Nägelsbach, *Stilistik*, §143) that for verbs which express action,

persons are preferred as subjects to things, that we can see a certain undefined feeling for the distinction.¹ In the adjective, however, this distinction is often sharply accentuated.

3. The *neutral passive*. I claim this force for those verbs which express a condition, as *esse*, *fieri*, *manere*, *albere*, *fleere*, *iacere*, *fluere*. Without doubt these verbs lie, so far as the meaning is concerned—despite their active form—nearer to the passive than to the active, as I have shown in the above-named article.

4. The *passive proper*, the sufficiently well-known passive, which has arisen out of the passive form of the verb.

That this classification into four groups is not only applicable but quite necessary to the adjective, I hope to prove through the following examples :

The adjectives in *-bilis* show the second, third and fourth of the above-named categories ; the first is foreign to them. They are thus instrumental:² *causa vincibilis*, an affair with which one can conquer ; or they may be neuter: *vox durabilis*; or passive: *merx invendibilis*. But they are never really active, e. g. Plautus *Mostellaria* 1162 *orator impetrabilis* is not an orator who can attain something (active), but an orator through whom one can attain something (instrumental).

We find the same three categories in the adjectives in *-tivus* and *-ticius*. These are e. g. instrumental : *definitiva constitutio*, *commendaticiae litterae*, *recepticia actio*, *admissivae aves* (in this case the birds serve the gods as apparatus). Passive on the contrary are : *filius adoptativus*, *tutor dativus*, *vinum advecticum*, *exercitus collecticius*. In the adjectives in *-tivus* the instrumental force is the more usual one ; in those in *-ticius* the passive. The neutral significance is rare;³ examples are : *fugitivus*, *adventicius*, *pessicinus*. The active force is never found, unless we should cite

¹ [e. g., to use Nägelsbach's illustration, the Roman prefers *Caesar virtute atque consilio Galliam perdomuit* or *Caesaris virtute Gallia perdomita est* to *Caesaris fortitudo atque consilium Galliam perdomuit*.—B. L. G.]

² In the above-mentioned article I have drawn a distinction between the instrumental and the *causal* signification. The distinction is this, that in the instrumental force we can recognize a fixed, logical subject, e. g. Plautus *Miles gloriosus* 1139 *date operam adiutabilem*, while in the causal force such a subject is not present, cf. *fleibile cepe* Lucilius fg. 153 (Bährens), or *tempus genitabile* Lucilius fg. 1. For the present I shall leave this finer distinction aside.

³ At least in the case of those adjectives which are derived from verbs. I do not take into consideration such as are derived from nouns, e. g. *aestivus*, *tempestivus*, *armenticius* et al.

Apollo genetivus, but the names of gods and their attributes exhibit so often forms which are rare and contradictory to all rules of word-formation.

The adjectives in *-torius* and *-sorius* are also instrumental, neutral and passive. Instrumental are those which are derived from *nomina agentis* in *-tor* and *-sor*. This signification is the more usual one; by means of the endings *-torius* and *-sorius* are formed instrumental adjectives corresponding to the active *nomina agentis* in *-tor* and *-sor*. Examples are: *vectorium navigium, obiurgatoriae artes, sententia absolutoria, avis prohibitoria*, a bird through whose instrumentality the gods keep us back from carrying out design. The intransitive force, on the contrary, develops itself in connection with such *nomina* in *-tor* and *-sor* as are not *nomina agentis*. To this class belong, in the next place, those adjectives which are related to such substantives in *-tor* and *-sor* as are derived from verbs which express a condition: *mansorius, transitorius, praecursorius*, etc. They belong to the later language. Then, too, the *nomina agentis* pass easily over into the signification of names of species, and in this connection one thinks readily of names of officers, e. g. *quaestor, praetor*, etc. The adjectives which are derived from these are neuter, e. g. *quaestorius, praetorius, praefectorius*. Furthermore, any *nomen agentis* can in the especial case be regarded as a name of a species; for example, we can consider *textor* at will as a *nomen agentis* (a man who weaves), or as a class name (the weaver), in characterizing the position of the man as a citizen. By reason of this circumstance the neutral force of the adjectives in *-torius* and *-sorius* has developed itself widely. Neuter are e. g. *damna aleatoria, navis mercatoria, homo nugatorius*, and many others. We meet the passive signification too, but not before the later vulgar Latin, e. g. *mutatoria vestimenta, occisoria animalia*.¹ Real active signification is never seen in the adjectives in *-torius* and *-sorius*; the only case which we could be tempted to quote here is the unhappy translation of Σειρῆνες with *trahitoriae*, which is clearly against the idiom of the language.

The adjectives in *-arius* contain, on the contrary, all four genera. The active and the instrumental significations are to be regarded as the original ones, and so the adjectives correspond at once to the *nomina agentis* in *-tor* and the adjectives in *-torius*. But the

¹ At any rate we cannot postulate the passive signification in *follis pugillatorius* in Plautus Rudens 721: that is not "follis which is struck with fists," but "follis pugillatoris: follis which belong to one who is a pugilator"; the signification is neuter.

neutral signification has developed itself thereby, as in the case of the adjectives in *-torius*, as soon as the notion of the action, which was originally peculiar to the ending, vanished. Originally the passive force appears (but in all periods of the Latin it is rare), but chiefly in those forms which are used in connection with the part. perf. pass.: *assarius*, *admissarius*, but possibly also in *actuarius* (*navigis actuaria*), *usuarius* (*servus*), *intercalarius* (but it is possible that this latter is simply a metaplasma for *intercalaris*), and others.

Active proper, instrumental and intransitive are e. g. the adjectives in *-ax*; e. g. *homo loquax* is active, *spes fallax* instrumental, and *servus fugax* is intransitive. We can imagine a transition to the passive signification in *mendax*, e. g. Horace Epist. I 16, 39 *mendax infamia*; at any rate this passive signification has arisen from the instrumental.

The same is to be observed in the adjectives in *-lus*. Here also we find isolated transitions into the passive signification, e. g. in *rete iaculum*. We can see how the instrumental force gets to be passive when we consider e. g. *vestis stragula*; here one can be in doubt whether we should explain the adjective as instrumental (a carpet, with which one covers), or passive (a carpet, which is laid over).

Furthermore, the same holds good for adjectives which are formed like *benedicus*, *redux*, etc. These also are active, instrumental and intransitive, and we can see occasionally a transition of the instrumental signification into the passive. This development can be observed e. g. in *artifex*. *Artifex* has the active force when used as a substantive, i. e. as a nomen agentis (the artificer), or when it is coupled as an attribute with words which designate persons (*servi artifices*). But *artifex* can also be used attributively with inanimate objects, and in this case becomes instrumental. Cicero says still *artifex ut ita dicam stilus*; but Propertius, *artifices manus*. This instrumental signification passed over into the passive, which we see also in Propertius, who says *quattuor boves artifices*, i. e. four artificially made oxen. Through the instrumental signification, as a medium, we explain also e. g. the circumstance that *redux* can be active and passive. Expressions like *redux navis*—here *redux* is directly instrumental, “a ship by which one is brought back”—form the connecting link; it could very easily, however, be considered as passive, “a ship which is brought back.”

A large number of derivative endings form adjectives with a purely neutral signification. This is so well known that it is unnecessary to give examples.

Just as the voices present themselves in the adjective, but not unchanged, so also is a distinction of tenses to be found in the adjective, but different from that in the verb. While the voices in the adjective were represented by finer distinctions, the tense-doctrine of the adjective is really a simpler one. In the verb we have a threefold division, viz. past, present, future; but besides these the Latin has special forms for the perfect, pluperfect, futurum exactum; in the adjective, as the contrary, we find simply a two-fold division: we have *praeterito-present* and *future* adjectives.

All those adjectives which have a modal secondary force are future; more especially, therefore, the adjectives in *-lis* and *-bilis*; e. g. *mortalis* signifies "one who *can* or *will* die"; *venalis* is a ware "which *can* or *will* be sold"; *utilis* is "that which *can* or *will* be used"; *laudabilis* is "one who *can* be praised" in the future. When the modal force is lost, the future signification disappears also.

By far more numerous are the *praeterito-present* adjectives. In these, however, we feel generally only the present force. *Aureus* e. g. signifies that which is of gold, and it would be impossible in this adjective to distinguish between present and preterite. On the contrary, however, we can easily distinguish and feel the present and preterite force in all those adjective formations which have a local or temporal signification. We must, for example, assume a local original force within the Latin for the suffix *-nus*, and in this suffix we can clearly distinguish the present and the past: *Campanus* e. g. signifies "one who is in Campania," or "one who was formerly in Campania"; *Scipio Aemilianus* is evidently preterite, i. e. "Scipio who was formerly in the *gens Aemeilia*"; furthermore, *hereditas fraterna*, i. e. "an inheritance which comes from a brother," that is, which was formerly possessed by a brother. On the contrary, *amor fraternus*, "love such as a brother feels," is present.¹ Still clearer is the local force in the suffix *-ensis*,² and in

¹ We must not include such adjectives as *crastinus* in the future class, for the future signification here is not conditioned by the ending, but by the idea in the stem *cras*.

² I have no doubt that this is identical with the suffix *-enus*; *-ensis*, as I think, developed itself in Italic adjectives used for name of places with a nominative into *-ens* (instead of *-enus*), and was transferred in this form and falsely declined *-ens*, *-ensis*, *-ensi*, etc. After this the nominative *-ensis* was

this suffix also we can distinguish present and preterite force; present in e. g. *ager Olbiensis*, preterite in *epistola Olbiensis*, "a letter from Olbia," i. e. a letter which formerly was in Olbia.

Then, too, we find, as in the verb, so in adjectives, distinctions which refer to the duration of time, as we find adjective-endings which are coupled with the notion of *continuance*. This obtains in the Latin, e. g. in the suffixes *-uus* and *-ax*. We dare affirm the same of the ending *-ivus*, which is nearly related to the ending *-uus* (cf. *vacivus* and *vacuus*, *nocivus* and *nocuus*, etc.). Here and there the durative force gets to be a frequentative one: *recidiva febris*, intermittent fever; *cadiva mala*, apples of which one often falls down. We should probably designate the distinction between the suffixes *-tivus* and *-ticius*, which are related in meaning, as a temporal one. The difference is similar to that between the perfect and the imperfect, only, as in the case of the adjective, by all such distinctions, it is not so sharply defined. We can, then, still better compare the difference of force between the verb-substantives in *-tus* and *-tio*, since this distinction also is a temporal one. The substantives in *-tus* contain the signification of the aorist, those in *-tio* the force of the imperfect (cf. Tegge, *Studien zur lateinischen Synonymik*, 1886, p. 67¹). A consequence of this

finally formed. Occasionally we find cases where such Italic adjectives in *-ens* are transformed into adjectives in *-ens*, *entis*, by a similar metaplasmy, e. g. *Ticens*, *Ticentis*.

The ending *-enus* is formed quite regularly by the addition of *-nus* to nouns of the second declension: *alienus* from *alius*, *Alfenus* from *albus* (Italic for *albus*), etc. It afterwards became more limited in its use through the extended use of the ending *-anus*. (I cannot agree with what Stoltz says about the ending *-enus*, in the *Handbuch für Altertumswissenschaft II*, p. 165.)

Again, *-enus* could arise from **-esnus*, e. g. *aēnus* from **aēsnus*, *terrenus* from **terresnus* (cf. *terres-tris*), *capenus* (*porta Capena*) from **campesnus* (cf. *campes-tris*), with falling out of the consonant in the unaccented first syllable. I remark too that *venenum* has probably arisen from **venesnum*; it is related to *Venus*, and signified originally the love-drink, cf. Afranius *togatae* 381: *aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio, haec sunt venena formosarum mulierum*.

As we are speaking of etymologies, I add that we must not claim the suffix *-nus* for *amoenus*, for *amoenus* has risen from **admoenus* (again with shortening of the unaccented first syllable), and referred originally to the "lovely" surroundings of the city, and therefore was used in all times only as an attribute of places and surroundings.

¹ *Reditus*, *hortatus*, etc., are used when one simply affirms the action; *reditio*, *hortatio*, however, when we think of the continuance of the action.

temporal distinction is that the adjectives in *-ticius* are oftener passive (they characterize an action which is already completed, already done), while those in *-tivus* are more frequently instrumental, describing the unfinished, incomplete action: one says e. g. *nomen translaticium* (passive), but *constitutio translativa* (instrumental); *exercitus collecticius* (passive), but *quaestio collectiva* (instrumental).

I now come to the subject of mood. In the treatment of the moods of the adjective, we have, without doubt, to lay as a foundation the renowned trinity of Kant (cf. Kant's Critic of Pure Reason, Transcendental Analysis I 2). Kant distinguishes the problematic, assertive, and apodictic modality (" Possibility, Existence, Necessity "). In this trinity, thinking is coupled with necessity. It is my opinion, although the modern comparative grammar holds an entirely different view,¹ that it must also form the basis of the

Therefore the substantives in *-tus* are usually used in the ablative to assert an action that is taking place, often in connection with a genitive or a pronoun which refers to the originator (*iussu patris, iussu meo*), while with attributives which describe the process of the action the Romans prefer the verbalis in *-tio* (*perpetua et aquabilis satio, not satus*). That this distinction is not always strictly observed, that there exist therefore many substantives in *-tus* which comprehend also the sphere of meaning of those in *-tio*, and that substantives in *-tio* are used still oftener for those in *-tus*, does not alter the case. We find such variableness of meaning everywhere if we determine the signification of noun-formations, for—especially in the firmly fixed literary Latin—the Romans preferred using inaccurately a noun of kindred meaning (in transferred sense) to forming a new word which as yet did not exist, but which would correspond exactly to the sense: e. g. the distinction between *paternus* and *patrius* is clear, but *matrius* and *fratrius* do not exist; *maternus* and *fraternus* correspond not only to the adjective *paternus*, but also to the adjective *patrius*.

¹ Delbrück, as is well known, regards the *wish* as the fundamental idea of the optative, the *willing* as that of the subjunctive. In the optative, however, by far the most frequent signification is the *potential* (i. e. the problematic: *τοῦτο γένοτο ἄν* signifies "that can happen"), and it is also probably the earlier signification. The wishing optative, in my opinion, arose from the potential. A sentence of wish, as *si nunc se ostendat*, is, in my opinion, really a conditional sentence: "if that happens" (to complete the sentence, "I should rejoice," or something so). One can scarcely doubt that the wish-sentences with *utinam* were originally subordinate sentences: contrary to the opinion of grammarians, I presuppose the same for those with *si*. As to the subjunctive, we can allow both meanings that it contains—that of the *will* and that of *necessity*—to obtain. For the willing is only another form of necessity. The modal auxiliaries "will" (wollen) and "shall" (sollen) are, as to the modality, perfectly identical; they differ

mood-doctrine in the verb. But on this point one can believe as he chooses ; at any rate, Kant's division applies perfectly well in the case of the adjective.

The assertive modality, to which the indicative in the verb corresponds, is found in the majority of adjectives. This needs no proof.

We find the problematic modality (possibility), which we can express by a circumlocution with the auxiliary verb "can," chiefly in the adjectives in *-bilis*, *-tilis*, *-lis*, *-ris*. I treated the modality of the adjectives in *-bilis* in my above-mentioned article. The conception of possibility is sharply defined in them : *pater exorabilis*, "a father who can be moved by asking"; "*vir laudabilis*, "a man who can be praised." The modal signification seldom disappears (e. g. in *nobilis*). The adjectives in *-lis* and *-ris* contain the same modality as those in *-bilis* : *venalis* is "that which can be sold"; *fidelia congialis* is "a vessel which can contain a congius"; *aequalis* is really "that which can be made equal"; *fidelis* is "one upon whom one can rely" (this is to be distinguished from *fidus*, "true"). But these adjectives have not preserved the modality so well. The various degrees of shading in the modality can be observed. Frequently we can express the weakened modality by a circumlocution with "about"; *aequalis*, "something that is about equal"; *talis*, "any one who is about so." If, however, the modality becomes still weaker, we can still recognize the original problematic force through the fact that adjectives in *-lis* and *-ris* are used more frequently in abstract than in concrete relations, and that either by deriving them from abstract substantives : *animalis* from *anima*; *annalis* from *annus*, etc.¹), or by employing the adjectives in *-lis* and *-ris* as attributes to abstract substantives : *lex socialis*, etc. Furthermore, one forms with *-alis*

only as to the voice : *will* (*wollen*) is active, *shall* (*sollen*) is neuter. Then, too, the force of *will* (*wollen*) is in the subjunctive a very confined one ; in Latin we meet it only in the first person singular, and here only seldom. Nothing at all hinders us, then, from identifying the modality of the subjunctive with Kant's apodictic modality, and then from asserting that the conception of necessity is the fundamental idea of the subjunctive. It seems to me, therefore, that Kant's division can with propriety be applied to the doctrine of the moods. The indicative contains the assertive, the optative the problematic, the subjunctive the apodictic modality.

¹ Also in *regalis*, *hostilis*, *juvenilis*, etc., lie abstract notions. When *rex* is regarded as concrete, one derives from it *regius*; but in *regalis* one does not think of the king himself, but of such notions as "royal power," etc.

adjectives which are derived from names of gods or are used in connection with names of gods, while in names of persons *-anus* is preferred. So *flamen Dialis*, *Iuppiter Latialis*, etc., shows in a measure the potential of the modest assertion in speaking of divine things. Occasionally the modality has been weakened down to a mere future force: Plautus Bacchides 949 *si esse salvum vis me aut vitalem tibi*, and then again has entirely disappeared. In adjectives in *-tilis* we have two classes to distinguish, for *-tilis* is either a secondary form of *-bilis* (the original form of *-tilis* is **-tlis*, that of *-bilis* **-thlis*), or *-tilis* has arisen by the appending of *-lis* to participles in *-tus*. This second class has often lost the modal force.

Just as the adjectives which contain the modal force of possibility can lose this modality, so also certain adjectives can assume the same although the modality was not originally in them. This occurs most frequently in verbal adjectives in *-tus* which are compounded with *in-*: *invictus exercitus*, an army which cannot be conquered.

The apodictic modality (necessity) which must be expressed by a circumlocution with the auxiliary "shall" (sollen), is to be seen in the Greek adjectives in *-τέος*; in the Latin it appears only in participles. This form of modality is clear in participles in *-ndus*. I made the assertion (in a remark above) that the modality of the verb "will" (wollen) and "shall" (sollen) was of the same nature, while asserting that the difference between the two verbs was that "will" was active, "shall" neuter. Accordingly I assume also for the participles in *-turus* the same kind of modality, and, in fact, just as soon as these participles have a neutral force, e. g. in *periturus*, in place of the modal idea in "will" (wollen), that of "shall" (sollen) appears. Frequently the modal force gets weakened down to a future one; the relation of the moods to the future is sufficiently well known from the theory of the verb.

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LEIPZIG.

III.—THE TIMAEUS OF PLATO.¹

II.

17 B. Jowett and Martin more naturally construe *οἰς ἡν πρέπον* *εὐνίος* with what goes before.

17 C *περὶ πολιτείας*. We cannot infer from this, as Mr. A.-H. does, that Plato intends to set the seal of his matured approval on the political theories of the Republic, while indicating that its ontology is superseded. The Republic itself explicitly states that its *κεφάλαιον* is ethical and social (cf. 367, 369 sqq., 484 AB). Ontology is introduced only in aid of the discussion of the philosopher king, the higher education and similar themes, and there is frequent explicit recognition of the limitations that this method involves. Cf. 435 CD, 484 A, 506 DE with 506 A, where the practical object is emphasized. The ontology of 596–7, whatever interpretation we put upon it, is obviously mainly method (596 A) and cannot be pressed. The “more advanced ontology of the Timaeus” has to be inferred from the Philebus, Sophist, and Theaetetus. Our editor himself notes the agreement of Republic and Timaeus at 27 C, 29 C, 31 A, 42 D, 47 B, 64 C, etc. The differences he notes at 51 C, 51 E, 52 A are matters of inference. Lastly, that the

¹ The following notes are intended to be used with Mr. Archer-Hind's edition of the Timaeus or with Hermann's text. They are partly critical of Mr. Archer-Hind, partly supplementary. The matter I have added is, I think, not to be found in Stallbaum or Martin. It consists mainly of Platonic and Aristotelian parallels and observations on Platonic usage. As I shall be obliged to emphasize the points of difference between myself and Mr. Archer-Hind, I will add that he seems to me not only to have surpassed his predecessors in accuracy, but to have succeeded in what they did not even attempt—the rendering of the tone and movement of the original. Since these notes were put in type, Mr. J. Cook Wilson has published a review of Archer-Hind's work. Mr. Wilson partly anticipates me on some points—especially at 37 ABC and 53 B. His captious, but vague criticism will not aid the student much. Mr. Archer-Hind has undoubtedly read Stallbaum's notes carelessly and done him injustice, but all serious students are aware of Stallbaum's incompetency in all higher questions of Platonic exegesis. Of Mr. Archer-Hind's indebtedness to the “Engelmann translator” I am unable to speak. One seems to detect the flavor of an undigested German original in the unlucky “also” (p. 84), for which Nettleship (*Mind*, LIII, p. 130) proposes to read “therefore.”

Laws are not "an abandonment by Plato of his political ideal" we learn not from the Timaeus, but from the explicit statement of the Laws themselves, 739 CD, 807 B.

18 A ὅσα προσήκει τούτοις: not "all studies which are connected with these," but "all studies befitting these" (men); cf. Rep. 526 C, 530 C, Leges 822 A.

18 D ταῦτα εὐμνημόνευτα ἢ λέγεις: not "easy to remember this too as you describe it," but "this too is easy to remember for the reason you assign." Ibid. εὐθὺς γίγνουστο, not "securing immediately," but technically "from birth," "by birth." Cf. Leges 782 E, Tim. 76 E, Menex. 237 A, Theaetet. 186 C.

19 B. Stallbaum's ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ταῦτ' should be accepted. ταῦτα ταῦτα should not be used, I think, except when there is a suggestion of applying the facts recalled to a new purpose; as in Gorg. 518 A, Repub. 329 B, Tim. 60 D, 88 C.

19 E ἔτι δὲ χαλεπώτερον λόγοις. Cf. Rep. 473 A ἡ φύσιν ἔχει πρᾶξιν λέξεως ἡπτον ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεσθαι, καν εἰ μή τῳ δοκεῖ; instead of the erroneous "well furnished with many fine discourses on other subjects," read "have had experience of many discourses and other fine things." For the experience in discourses cf. Gorgias 457 C; for the καλὰ ἀλλα of Plato's sophists cf. Protag. 341 A and Hipp. Maj. 282 D. For πλανητὸν—κατὰ πόλεις cf. Rep. 371 D with Sophist 223 E and Protag. 314 AB. Below, instead of "fall short in their conception of philosophers and statesmen," render "fail to hit the mind of men at once both philosophers and statesmen."

20 B εἰς—πόλεμον. For prominence of war cf. Leges 626 A τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι.

20 D λόγον—εἰσηγήσατο, "told us a story." Rather, "introduced a topic," "suggested a theme." The Lexicon unnecessarily assigns to εἰσηγέομαι a special meaning 'narro' here and in Symp. 189 D.

21 A οὐ λεγόμενον μὲν. The translation "though unrecorded in history" is right, cf. 21 D and 22 C. In a note the editor strangely enough attacks his own translation, and will have it that οὐ λεγόμενον means not a fiction, πλασθέντα μῦθον, but a fact.

21 D ὡς ἀληθῆ διακηκὼς, "heard it as true." It is perhaps not over-subtle to note that the emphasis is not on the priest's historic credibility, but on Solon's willingness and the present company's desire to accept the tale; cf. 26 D and Gorgias 523 A with Leges 684 A.

22 A ὡς διεγένοντο, "how they survived." For this "rare use"

cf. Isoc. Archidamus 91 εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζοιεν ἢ τοῦ διαγενέσθαι καὶ περιποῆσαι σφᾶς αὐτούς. The translation here misses the effect of the position of *μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν αὐτὸν* in contrast with the ante-diluvian Phoroneus. This perhaps favors taking *διαγίγνεσθαι* as a synonym of *διάγειν*, "how they fared."

22 Εἰ σωζόμενα λέγεται παλαιότατα. Note the order. Render: "Because they escape destruction are the most ancient that are told"; cf. Critias 107 D εἰκότα λεγόμενα. Jowett's "are said to be the oldest" is perhaps possible, but I think wrong. τὸ δὲ ἀληθές is equivalent to a τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ opposed to the λόγῳ implicit in λέγεται.

23 Αἱ τινα διαφορὰν ἄλλην ἔχον. The scholiast paraphrases by παραδόξως ἐκβεβηκός. Compare Polit. 272 C καὶ πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ πάσης φύσεως εἴ τινά τις ιδίαν δύναμιν ἔχοντα προσθετό τι διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων εἰς συναγυρμὸν φρονήσεως, with Ar. Met. 980a, 26 ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖ γνωρίζειν ἡμᾶς αὐτῇ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ πολλὰς δηλοῦ διαφορὰς. This use of the word is connected with the conception of knowledge in Theaetet. 208 sqq.

23 C γράμμασι—ἀφώνοις; cf. 27 B and Aeschylus Septem 463 Βοᾷ δὲ χούτος γραμμάτων ἐν συλλαβαῖς.

24 B ἔτι δὲ ἡ τῆς ὀπλίσεως σχέσις κ. τ. λ. This is, I think, best construed by making a parenthesis of the words καθάπερ . . . παρ' ὑμῖν, placing a comma after ὑμῖν, and taking πρώτοις as a rhetorical repetition of πρώτοι, thus: "Wherewith we first of the men of Asia were armed, the goddess having taught us first as she did you in your region." The point emphasized here is not the priority of the Athenians to the Egyptians, which is better expressed by προτέρους below, but that each people was first in its own continent.

26 C ἵνα εὐποροῖεν λόγων, not so much "share my affluence of words," as "be provided with a theme."

27 C πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἔκείνοις μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπομένως δὲ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν. The balance of the sentence and the thought make it better to take ἐπομένως = 'secondly,' rather than 'consistently.' The word is used by Aristotle in that sense Met. 1030a, 22 τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τοῖς δὲ ἐπομένως, and may well be so used by Plato. Alcinous employs it in both meanings. We learn from Phaedrus 273 E that the true object of speech is to please the gods rather than men. In Republic 528 A Socrates recommends pleasing oneself rather than others. Timaeus combines the two principles here; cf. also Sophist 264 E.

27 C ἡ γέγονεν, not "how far it is created," but "whether it is created"; literally, "how it is a created thing." γέγονεν is used

pregnantly for *γεγονός ἔστι* opposed to *ἀγενές ἔστι*. *ἡ* has no quantitative force; cf. 48 A.

27 D *ἡ διανοοῦμαι*. Stallbaum's *ἀ* is not necessary; but the meaning is not "carry out my intentions," but "expound my views," cf. 48 C *δηλώσαι τὰ δοκοῦντα*, and Leges 966 A-B, where *διανοεῖσθαι* is made = *νοεῖν*, and as here is placed in antithesis to *ἐνδείκνυσθαι*.

28 A *τὴν ιδέαν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ*; cf. Polit. 308 C *μίαν τινὰ δύναμιν καὶ ιδέαν δημιουργεῖ*.

28 C *τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα*. Our editor construes this natural language of religious awe as an indication that Plato must have had some metaphysical *ἀρχή* in mind, and not the simple conception of a personal creator of the universe. But Plato's language here has been repeatedly adopted by the most devout Christian writers. The passage is quoted by nearly all the Greek fathers, and generally with qualified approval.

29 A *ὁ μηδ' εἰπεῖν τινὶ θέμις*; cf. Epinomis 986 B *οἵοις οὐδὲ θέμις εἰπεῖν*.

29 B *μέγιστον δὴ παντὸς ἀρξασθαι*. Not "it is all-important," but "it is important to begin everything"; cf. Leges 753 E. We have as often, a general proposition followed by its specific application.

πάντων μάλιστα and *παντὸς μᾶλλον* have no analogue in *μέγιστον παντός*.

Below cf. Meno. 80 C *καλαὶ γὰρ οἷμαι τῶν καλῶν καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες*, and Polit. 278 sqq. for *παράδειγμα*.

30 A. "Who are the *φρόνιμοι ἄνδρες*? Probably some Pythagoreans." Rather, I think, the blessed ancients generally whom Plato and Aristotle love to cite against the materialists; cf. Phileb. 28 D, 30 D, and Ar. Met. 1074b, and Leges passim. We need not press the exact statement of the principle here given. But Metaphys. 1091b, 9 comes very near it: *οἷον Φερεκύδης καὶ ἔτεροι τινες τὸ γεννῆσαν πρῶτον ἀριστον τιθέασι*. The *τέλος ὅμοίωσιν θεοῦ* cited by our editor from Stobaeus Ecl. II 64 is purely ethical and refers to Theaetet. 176 B.

30 A *πᾶν οὖσον ἡν̄ ὄρατὸν παραλαβάν*. Our editor assumes here, as elsewhere (cf. infra on 48 A), that the pre-existence of chaos and the creation in time are to be understood *κατ' ἐπίνοιαν* only. In support of this view he quotes Proclus and Apuleius, who, like the majority of post-Aristotelian thinkers, were dominated by the conception of the unchanging Aristotelian heaven. The sole argument by which he justifies his rejection of the numerous specific

declarations of Plato cited in Martin's luminous dissertation is that "it is impossible that Plato could have imagined that this disorderly motion ever actually existed ; since all motion is of $\psi\nu\chi\bar{\eta}$, and $\psi\nu\chi\bar{\eta}$ is intelligent." But this is begging the question. The necessary intelligence of $\psi\nu\chi\bar{\eta}$ is implied only where, as in the Laws, Plato, determined to find some little plausibility for his ethical argument, smuggles in $\tau\dot{\alpha}\psi\nu\chi\bar{\eta}s$ along with the $\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\bar{\eta}\kappa\mu\nu\sigma\epsilon\omega\sigma$, which is all he has proved. But our editor cannot rely on this passage because $\tau\dot{\alpha}\psi\nu\chi\bar{\eta}s$ include $\eta\theta\eta\kappa\lambda\tau\rho\pi\omega\sigma$, which he does not want. The Phaedrus tells us (246 B and 249 B) that soul appears in various forms, that every human soul has had a glimpse of the realities, and that soul made perfect governs the $\kappa\sigma\mu\omega\sigma$. But it does not state that all soul is inherently informed by $\nu\omega\sigma$ working towards the good. The Politicus tells us of alternate cycles of government by the mind of God and by a $\sigma\mu\mu\pi\omega\sigma\dot{\epsilon}\pi\theta\mu\mu\alpha$, a kind of soul evidently analogous to the blind Will of Schopenhauer or the Unconscious of Hartmann. The Laws explicitly declare that there are two kinds of soul, and that the universe $\epsilon\iota\mu\pi\kappa\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\dot{\alpha}\rho\kappa\tau\omega\sigma$ must be supposed to be ruled by the evil soul. Plato does not aim at consistency in so doubtful a matter (cf. Phaedrus 265 CD), but the $\kappa\alpha\kappa\psi\nu\chi\bar{\eta}$, the $\sigma\mu\mu\pi\omega\sigma\dot{\epsilon}\pi\theta\mu\mu\alpha$, and the $\pi\lambda\alpha\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ all fulfil practically the same function—they account for action which is not a development of $\nu\omega\sigma$, and it is the modern imagination governed by the Théodicée of Malebranche, not the Platonic imagination inspired by Hesiod and the pre-Socratics, that refuses to admit such action.

31 A. Our editor compares Republic 597 C and Ar. Met. 1074a, 31, the bearing of which on this passage was brought out in my dissertation De Platonis Ideis, p. 30. It should also be observed that here, as well as in Republic 597 C, Plato is endeavoring to evade the $\tau\pi\iota\omega\sigma\dot{\alpha}\pi\theta\omega\pi\omega\sigma$, and that the terminology of this passage is unfavorable to the inference drawn in behalf of Plato's "later doctrine of ideas" by Mr. Jackson (J. of Phil. 22, pp. 292-3) from Parmenides 132 DE-133 A. Mr. Jackson there argues, laying undue stress on 133 A, that Parmenides accepts the idea as $\pi\alpha\pi\dot{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$, and merely objects to $\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\tau\eta\sigma$ as the basis of its relation to particulars. In the "later" theory, then, we expect $\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\tau\eta\sigma$ to be abandoned ; and yet while in Parmen. 132 E it is stated explicitly : $\text{o}\nu\kappa\text{ } \ddot{\alpha}\pi\text{ o}\iota\omega\text{ t}\epsilon\text{ t}\phi\text{ e}\iota\ddot{\omega}\text{ e}\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\text{ o}\iota\omega\text{ e}\iota\omega\text{a}$, we find here the terms $\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\sigma\pi\text{, }\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\text{ o}\iota\omega\text{ a}\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\mu\epsilon\eta\text{, e}\iota\text{ s }\dot{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\tau\eta\text{, etc. (cf. 52 A, 50 D, 51 A)}$, used to characterize the relation of the particular to the

idea (cf. *Polit.* 278 A). The fact is, Plato was well aware that the objections of the Parmenides could not be answered by any reconstitution of his theory, but only by the transcendentalist's familiar device of affirming in one breath what is denied in another. The particular is only a likeness of the idea, but it never can be really like its exemplar. It is a pity that Mr. Archer-Hind should allow himself to employ the un-Platonic expression *νοητός κόσμος* in this connection. *Philebus* 64 B and *Republic* 517 B do not justify an expression which is introduced into the criticism of the *Timaeus* only in order to prepare the way for Philo Judaeus and Plotinus. Plato's *αὐτὸς ζῷον* is not Philo Judaeus' idea of a city in the mind of the architect. It is the general idea of living thing and nothing more. Plato is proceeding as naïvely as in *Republic* 596 AB. A living thing by the Platonic method must be patterned by its maker on the general idea of living thing. The universe comes nearer its model than other living things because it contains the same generic subdivision, and also because, like the idea, it is *one*. This, of course, does not, as our editor thinks, indicate an advance from the doctrine of *Republic* 596 A: Plato says there, not that the idea must have many particulars, but only that where we see a number of similar particulars with a common name we assume an idea. The two propositions are not convertible (cf. *Ar. Met.* 1040a, 26, who adopts the same rigid view).

32 AB. The mathematical propositions Plato may or must have had in mind here are explained by our editor after Böckh and Martin. His treatment of the subject would have profited by Zeller's elaborate note (*op. cit.* pp. 671-73). For the rest, so far as the application to the elements is concerned, the simpler explanations of Cousin and Grote are really quite sufficient. For the words *καθ' ὅσον ἡν δύνατον* make it probable that the proportion between the elements is nothing more nor less than that of 56 D, 4 : 8 = 8 : 20!

32 D ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ξύστασις; cf. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου ξύστασις ἔστι κόσμος καὶ οὐρανός. Ar. de Cael. I 10.

32 D οὐδὲ δύναμιν. "δύναμιν is not to be understood as 'potentially,' but as 'power' or 'faculty.'" Plato's inner affinity with the modern associationist school is by nothing more strongly marked than by this, that he is not careful to maintain this distinction. Both power and existence in the phenomenal world are for him potentialities; cf. *Sophist* 247 E with Locke on Power (Bohn, Vol. I, p. 360): "Power, thus considered, is two-fold, viz. as able to

make, or able to receive any change"; cf. also A. J. P., IX 417, and Phileb. 29 C πάση δυνάμει τῇ περὶ τὸ πῦρ οὖσῃ.

33 D ἐκ τέχνης; cf. Sophist 265 E θήσω τὰ μὲν φύσει λεγόμενα ποιεῖσθαι θείᾳ τέχνῃ. With μάτην cf. ὁ δὲ θεός καὶ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν μάτην ποιοῦσιν. Ar. de Caelo I 4.

34 Α κύκλῳ κινεῖσθαι στρεφόμενον. In his desire to "eliminate the distinction between spirit and matter" and the notion of a pre-cosmic chaos, our editor slightly misrepresents the familiar myth of the Politicus. He says that the reversed motion of the universe in Polit. 269 A sqq. is "the recoil from that which had been imparted by God." The only words that even seem to justify this are 270 A κατὰ καιρὸν ἀφεβέντα τοιούτον ὥστε ἀνάταλι στρέφεσθαι, etc. But the phraseology throughout (cf. 269 C αὐτόματον) implies an inherent principle of motion; sometimes the world is guided by God, sometimes left to the subordinate intelligence that God imparted to the original disorder of which the universe was full, πρὶν εἰς τὸν νῦν κόσμον ἀφικέσθαι (273 C); cf. especially 272 E τὸν δὲ δὴ κόσμον πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰμαρρένη τε καὶ ξύμφυτος ἐπιθυμία; cf. 273 A with Tim. 52 D and infra on 48 A.

34 Α λογισμὸς θεοῦ κ. τ. λ. Jowett's paraphrase (Vol. II, p. 493), "the thought of God made God," is a striking illustration of the rhetorical temptations that seem to make it impossible for a modern commentator to represent the Timaeus correctly. We profess to have abjured Plotinus, but still read the later books of Aristotle's Metaphysics into everything.

34 C. Mr. Archer-Hind is wrong in objecting to Stallbaum's citation of Laws 904 A on the ground that οὐκ αἰώνιον there applies to the *ξύστασις* of soul and body, but not to *ψυχή* and *σῶμα* severally. This reading is undoubtedly supported by Phaedrus 245 C and 246 CD, but the words γένεσις γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ποτε ἦν ζῷων ἀπολομένου τούτοιν θατέροιν make it simply impossible (cf. Phaedo 70 CD). For the rest it is idle to deny that the Laws assign *ψυχή* to *γένεσις*; cf. 966 E and 967 D *ψυχή τε ὡς ἔστι πρεσβύτατον ἀπάντων ὅσα γονῆς μετειληφεν*. We must admit *inconstantia Platonis* to this extent.

35 A. Our editor's treatment of the *ψυχογονία* is unsatisfactory even if we allow it to be correct. Ignoring the differing readings of scholars like Zeller, and citing no Platonic parallels, he gives dogmatically an interpretation of his own; and this interpretation he states not in proximate terms, but in the language of his own metaphysical theory of the true Platonism.

I doubt if any absolutely certain and satisfactory construction

of the Greek is attainable. But I will endeavor to state clearly the difficulties, the alternative solutions, and the general significance of the passage, with regard to which I think certainty can be attained. And first we must be careful not to reduce the number of the elements of the problem by rashly identifying apparent synonyms. The imaginative method of the Timaeus treats different words as different entities, and if we identify approximate synonyms, in the interests of a preconceived system, some of the meaning escapes.

The ἀμέριστος οὐσία, for example, is not identical with ταῦτόν (I cannot guess what Mr. Archer-Hind means by saying it is "identical but not co-extensive"), nor is it "pure mind" as yet undifferentiated. It is plainly the "Idee," the ideas, the ideal reality and unity as distinguished from the reality we apprehend only as divided and dissipated ἐν τοῖς γιγνομένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπείροις (Phileb. 15 B; cf. Theaetet. 205 C μία τις ἰδέα ἀμέριστος, Repub. 525 E εὐλαβούμενοι μή ποτε φανῆ τὸ ἐν μη ἐν ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μάρια, Repub. 476 A).

The περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένη μεριστὴ οὐσία is not primarily the θάτερον, still less is it "differentiated intelligence"; it is the unity of the idea as we apprehend it divided among concrete things (cf. the passages cited above and Symp. 210 C where τὸ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καλὸν is contrasted with τὸ ἐπ' εἶδει καλόν, which we are told is μονοειδές, etc.) ταῦτόν and θάτερον are primarily the logical categories of sameness and difference discussed in the Sophist. It is not necessary to answer Jowett's amazing assertion (Plato II 494) that "the other of the Timaeus . . . has nothing to do with the other of the Sophist." When Plato descends from the transcendental world of Symposium 211, both of these categories, since they are necessary conditions of intelligible speech, present themselves as well among the ideas as in concrete things, and the θάτερον is then as truly an οὐσία or φύσις (Sophist 258 B) as the ταῦτόν.

When we turn to οὐσία or φύσις in the transcendental sense of Timaeus 38 AB, 52 B, which Plato does whenever he can escape the trammels of logic, ταῦτόν, of course, approaches the idea or absolute μονάς—αἱ καὶ ταῦτα ὅν, while θάτερον tends to become identified with the multiplicity of changing particulars that are now one thing and now another. Pressing this analogy we might come to identify ταῦτόν with the ἀμέριστος οὐσία, and θάτερον with the μεριστή. And this identification would be helped by the logical terminology of the Sophist (cf. 257 C ἡ θάτερον μοι φύσις φαίνεται κατακεκερματίσθαι; cf. 258 D).

οὐσία is a πολλαχῶς λεγόμενον. Sometimes it means a particular substance or φύσις, the Aristotelian *οὐσία*, sometimes transcendental being, and sometimes the mixed logical relative being (cf. Sophist 254 D τὸ δέ γε ὃν μικτὸν ἀμφοῖν, whereas the ideas are transcendently ἀμικτότατα ἔχοντα, Phileb. 59 C). The three *οὐσίαι* of our passage, the ἀμέριστος, the μεριστή, and the τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, are equivocally denoted by the common term *οὐσία*, much as the three kinds of φιλία in Leges 837 A: δύο γὰρ ὅντα αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτον ἄλλο εἶδος ἐν ὅνομα περιλαβὸν πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν καὶ σκότον ἀπεργάζεται. Mr. Archer-Hind, ignoring all this, says that *οὐσία* is the unity of consciousness, that is to say, that ὑποκείμενον of psychic processes which Mill was unable to discern, which Kant aimed at by his synthetic unity of apperception, and which most thinkers postulate in some form or other. But this thought, so far as it is in Plato, is expressed not by the τρίτον *οὐσίας* εἶδος, but by the subsequent words καὶ τρία λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὅντα συνεκεράσατο εἰς μίαν πάντα ίδεαν. As Zeller, ed. 1875, II 1, 647, rightly says: Nur diese beiden [sc. ταῦτάν and θάτερον] werden neben der *οὐσίᾳ* als Theile der Weltseele genannt, das Untheilbare und Theilbare sind blos Bestandtheile der *οὐσίᾳ*. The close parallelism of the expression in Theaetet. 184 D εἰς μίαν τινὰ ίδεαν εἴτε ψυχὴν εἴτε ὁ τι δεῖ καλεῖν, shows for the rest that *ίδεα*, and not *οὐσία*, is the word that expresses the psychic unity demanded by Mr. Archer-Hind. These five categories of the Platonic logic and metaphysic are treated as real substances and commingled to form the soul (cf. Zeller ubi supra, Alcinous εἰσαγωγὴ 14); to the end, as we learn in 37 BC, that the soul may take cognizance of sameness and diversity in the world of divided as well as undivided *οὐσίᾳ*. So far all is clear, but there are some obscurities in the text. We have seen that there are probably two stages in the ψυχογονία: (1) the "chemical" combination of the divided and undivided substance in *οὐσίᾳ*, and (2) the union of *οὐσίᾳ*, ταῦτάν and θάτερον to form the soul. But in the Greek, on the words describing the preliminary formation of *οὐσίᾳ* follow close the words τῆς τε ταῦτοῦ φύσεως αὖ πέρι καὶ τῆς θατέρου. This seems to give us the alternative of identifying the ταῦτάν and θάτερον with the ἀμέριστος and μεριστή *οὐσίᾳ*, or of assuming that the mingling of the latter drew with or after it some admixture of the former. Grote adopts the former alternative, Zeller not very clearly the latter. Martin holds that the first mingling of the *divided* and *undivided* involved a partial preliminary union of the *same* and the *other*, which facilitated the final difficult reunion of these two refractory elements in the soul.

These different interpretations involve different views of the syntax. Mr. Archer-Hind omits *aν πέρι*, construes the genitives *τῆς ἀμερίστον*, etc., as loose anticipative apposition to *ἐξ ἀμφοῦν*, and makes the second genitives *τῆς τε ταύτου*, etc., dependent on *ἐν μέσῳ* (though his punctuation is hopelessly irreconcilable with his rendering). Zeller, rejecting *πέρι*, retains *aν* in sense of "ferner auch," and, reversing Archer-Hind's syntax, construes the first genitives with *ἐν μέσῳ* and the second with *ἐξ*. I think all the genitives alike are "loose" genitives of origin helped by *ἐξ ἀμφοῦν* and possibly by *ἐν μέσῳ*. The first *ἐν μέσῳ* need not be construed with any genitive; it is, as it were, epexegetic of *τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῦν μέσην*, fulfilling the function of *μέσην* in 74 D *μιαν ἐξ ἀμφοῦν μέσην*, or of *μικτὴν* in Phileb. 27 B *ἐκ τούτων τρίτον μικτὴν*, etc. If referred to anything, however, it must be to the *divided* and *undivided* like the second *ἐν μέσῳ* (cf. now Nettleship, Mind, LIII, p. 132).

35 B. Our editor's explanation of the harmonic divisions of the soul is made up from Martin and Westphal. He is quite right, in spite of Böckh and Zeller (op. cit. pp. 653-5), in rejecting the *ἀποτομή* and the 36 terms of the pseudo-Timaeus Locrus, for the simple reason that they are not in the text. Later theorists would be sure to add them. He should have observed, however, that his modern musical notation can represent Greek scales only on the (I think doubtful) supposition that Plato's intervals were purely theoretic, and that in practice the ancients always used our intervals and half-intervals. The text of the Timaeus really gives us nothing but a succession of tetrachords with the intervals 8 : 9, 8 : 9, 243 : 256. These intervals through two octaves give us the *διάτονον διτονιαῖον* of Ptolemy, if Martin's tables are to be trusted, though Mr. Archer-Hind declares that Plato's scale "is *διάτονον σύντονον* of the strictest sort." We have no means of deciding how extensive a musical scale Plato contemplated. For the extension of the series to the number 27 may have only an astronomical significance. All that can be certainly assigned to music is the succession of the three intervals in the tetrachord. There is possibly one hitherto unnoticed means of determining the extent of the particular series of numbers Plato had in mind. The words, 36 B, *καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μιχθέν . . . οὐτως ἡδη πᾶν ἀναλώκει*, if they mean anything, must signify that assuming the first portion cut off to be $\frac{1}{x}$ of the whole, and *x* to be an integer, the sum of the fractional parts = unity. The sum of the fractions in the true series, then, must be an integer.

36 C ἐπὶ δεξιά. The contradiction with the Laws (760 D), where the east is ἐπὶ δεξιά, is sufficiently explained by our editor, after Martin, by the statement that Plato knew right and left to be arbitrary terms, and employed them to suit his convenience. There is, perhaps, another special reason for making the circle of ταῦτα proceed ἐπὶ δεξιά. In successive logical dichotomies the *unity* or *sameness* of the idea sought is found by proceeding always to the right; cf. Sophistes 264 E and Phaedr. 266 A, where right and left are made to convey further connotations of praise and disparagement. Or we might reconcile Timaeus and Laws by means of the ἀνακύκλωσις of the Politicus.

37 A ψυχή. The "strange" position of ψυχή is intentional and effective. The omission of the article and the isolated αὐτή convey a truly Platonic suggestion, that the real "self" of the heavens is not the visible σῶμα of the firmament, but the soul made to partake of reason and harmony; cf. 38 A for similar implication concerning the stars, and cf. the language of 40 A and the locus classicus Alc. I 129-30. Below our editor is wrong to press νοητῶν into the service of his modern idealism. The Demiurgus is νοητός, not in any technical sense because thought is to be identified with its object, but simply because he belongs to the γένος—ἀναίσθητον πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσι (Laws 898 DE). As for saying that Plato could not have used λογιστικόν for νοητόν in 37 B before he "deliberately affirmed the identity of thought and its object," he might as well say that the phrase θρέψαντα—ἰσχυρὸν τὸ ἐλεεινὸν (Rep. 606 B) could have been penned only after he deliberately affirmed the identity of pity and its object. This confounding of the subjective and objective is not infrequent even when the language has developed distinct terms as νοητός and νοητικός. There are many cases where the better reading is still undecided.

Where the Greek language had not made the distinction, the ambiguity was inevitable. Plato likes to use λογισμός and its paronyms for the higher reason which is a kind of calculation. The term λογιστός for the objective correlate of λογισμός does not seem to have been in use, though Stephanus wished to read it here, and the use of λογιστικός was inevitable. In Charmides 174 A τὸ λογιστικόν is used in this objective sense with πεπεντικός and ὑγιεινός, for which likewise the Greek language lacked a distinctly discriminated objective term (Ast's i. q. τὴν λογιστικήν is sufficiently refuted by the context). Zeller, who pointed out the difficulty (op. cit. p. 662), would read αἰσθητικόν ("das der Wahrnehmung

fähige Subjekt"), to which he makes *aὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχήν* refer. He thinks it a simpler remedy to read *aὐτόν*. Our editor reads *abrá*.

37 *Β κατὰ ταῦτα*. Should we not read *κατὰ ταῦτα?* *κατὰ ταῦτα* cannot, of course, be taken, with Martin, to mean "cette parole vraie par son rapport avec le même," and I do not think it can mean "pariter," "equally," "alike," in the quantitative sense assigned to it by our editor, Stallbaum, and Jowett (cf. Rep. 436 C), nor is the meaning apt if possible. Phrases like *κατὰ ταῦτα* by way of pleonastic resumption are frequent in the Timaeus (cf. 40 B *καὶ ἐκεῖνα*, and 48 A, in both of which places our editor silently corrects Jowett, 46 E, 76 C, 80 D where some read *κατὰ ταῦτα*). Here the phrase may be simply resumptive of the process described in the preceding sentence, or it may refer specifically to the enumeration of quasi-Aristotelian categories. At any rate Plato does not tell us that the *λόγος* is true "alike," but that it is true in the manner or matters aforesaid. *ἔφαντηται*, etc., in 37 A represents the *αἰσθήσεις* out of which arise, in the Platonic psychology, *δόξα* and its accompanying *λόγος*; cf. Theaetet. 179 C *αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ αἱ κατὰ ταύτας δόξαι*, and 194 B *ἡ δόξα φευδῆς καὶ ἀληθῆς γιγνομένη καταντικρὺ μὲν . . . ἀληθῆς, εἰς πλάγια δὲ καὶ σκολιὰ φευδῆς*, a sentence which illustrates our passage in many ways.¹

37 *С τούτω*. Proclus is probably right in referring this to the two pairs *δόξαι πίστεις νοῦς ἐπιστήμη*. In protesting against the materialists Plato confounds the boundaries; cf. Leges 892 B. Below, *τῶν ἀδίων θεῶν γεγονός ἄγαλμα*. There is nothing to surprise us in this phrase if we remember that Plato uses "divine" as loosely as Cicero. The ideas themselves may well be gods (cf. *σφάιρας αὐτῆς τῆς θείας*, Phileb. 62 A, and Polit. 309 C, where true opinion about justice in the soul is *θείαν—ἐν δαιμονίῳ γένει*), or Plato may have relapsed into the strain of Republic 596 C. The best commentary is the alternative offered in Epinomis 983 E–984 A *ἡ γὰρ θεὸς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ὑμνητέον ὅρθότατα ἡ θεῶν εἰκόνας ὡς ἀγάλματα ὑπολαβεῖν γεγονέναι θεῶν αὐτῶν ἐργασαμένων*.

¹ I cannot accept J. Cook Wilson's defence of Stallbaum against Archer-Hind here. Sameness and difference are among the things told by the soul; and the subjunctive is no obstacle to this construction. Mr. Archer-Hind's exaggeration of *ὅπῃ* into "place" in order to secure another category is of no moment. *εἰναι πρὸς ἔκαστον* = "to act upon each thing" is of course not a perfect equation, but it represents the meaning, and Mr. Archer-Hind can easily defend himself if he chooses with the aid of Theaetetus 160 BC—*τὸ ἐμὲ ποιοῦν ἔμοι ἔστι*. Cf. a similar antithesis of *γίγνεσθαι* and *πάσχειν* Euthyphron 10 C.

37 D ἡ—τοῦ ζῷον φύσις. “The nature of the ideal” is one of those rhetorical temptations which the judicious interpreter should resist.

38 B ὁν οὐδὲν ἀκριβέστερόν τι λέγομεν. Speak inaccurately rather than “incorrectly.” There is a difference.

38 C αἰώνα. The word has rhetorical rather than strictly metaphysical force; cf. Ar. de Caelo 1, 9: τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἄπαντα αἰώνα, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦνομα θείως ἔφθεγκται παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων. In the passage before us *αἰώνιον* may be a mere play on *αἰώνος*.

38 D τὴν δ' ἐναντίαν εἰληχότας αὐτῷ δύναμιν. May we not escape the difficulty of attributing to Plato an obviously inadequate hypothesis, and account for Cicero's *vim quandam contrariam*, by reading πῇ δ' ἐναντίαν? cf. Theaetet. 191 B πῃ δυνατόν, and Polit. 306 B κατὰ δῆ τινα τρόπον . . . στάσιν ἐναντίαν ἔχοντες.

39 B. Our editor reads very plausibly καθ' ἄ for καὶ τά. The subject of προένται above is *αἰώνα* implicit in αὐτῶν.

39 D τὸν τέλεον ἐναντόν. Zeller (op. cit. II 1, p. 684) is probably right in saying that Plato dogmatically fixed the length of the perfect year as 10,000 years.

39 E πρὸς τὴν τῆς διαιωνίας μίμησιν φύσεως. Not “by its assimilation to the eternal being,” but rather “by imitation of the eternity of its (sc. τοῦ ζῷου) nature.” Our editor, like the Neo-Platonists, wants to escape from the *ζῷον* to the region of eternal being generally and the *νοητὸς κόσμος*.

39 E-40 A ἢπερ οὖν νοῦς ἐνοῦστας ἰδέας; cf. Phileb. 16 C-D δεῖν—δεῖ μίαν ἰδέαν—ζητεῖν εὑρήσειν γὰρ ἐνοῦσταν. Grote strangely errs in making *men* one of the four classes. From this passage and pp. 30-31 we see that in the Timaeus Plato assumes coexistent ideas of genera, sub-genera, and species. This is the doctrine attributed to him by Aristotle, and if we can only understand that Plato used the ideas seriously only as postulated unities of logical method, and give up trying to construct systems out of his myths, the doctrine presents no difficulties. Accepted literally, however, it is quite irreconcilable with the theory of the limitation of ideas to ὅποσα φύσει, so far as that limitation is supposed to remove difficulties. For, as the Aristotelian polemic repeatedly points out, the coexistence of ideas of genera and species is exposed to all the objections that confront ideas of relative and purely abstract terms.

40 B τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ταῦτον . . . κρατουμένῳ. “The other

forward but controlled by the revolution of the same." The 'but' is over-subtle and not in the Greek. *εἰς τὸ πρόσθετον* is merely contrasted as a motion of translation with revolution on an axis. There is no idea of a motion in a circle as the *resultant* of two forces. *τὰ δὲ τρεπόμενα καὶ τὰ λατερά* is rightly rendered, except that *τρεπόμενα* is not "that move in a circle," but as Martin says *qui vont et reviennent*, that is, which seem to "hedge aside from the direct forthright." Zeller (Phil. d. Gr. 1875, II 1, 685) and Jowett wrongly take *κατ' ἐκείνην* to mean "in the likeness of the fixed stars." The phrase is merely a pleonastic resumption of *καθάπερ—έρρηθη*, which refers to the creation of planets as *δργανα χρόνου* (cf. supra on 37 B). For *πλάνην τοιαύτην = τρεπόμενα* cf. 51 C *τοιαύτην ἀλήθειαν* and the idiomatic *ἔτερα τοιαῦτα* Rep. 488 B; cf. also 87 C and Herod. VI 105 *ἥμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα*.

40 C *φύλακα καὶ δημιουργόν*. Our editor rightly rejects Grote's hypothesis that the earth revolves, and translates *εἰλλομένην* well "globed." We need not be surprised at *δημιουργόν* used of the passive earth; cf. Cic. De Nat. Deor. II 19, 49: *Primusque sol qui astrorum tenet principatum ita movetur ut cum terras larga luce compleverit, easdem modo his modo illis ex partibus opacet.*

40 D. Mr. Archer-Hind rightly retains *οὐ* before *δυναμένοις*, which Jowett with some MSS omits. There is no superstition in all Plato unaccompanied by irony; cf. the good notes on 40 D-E and on 71 E.

40 D *ἄνευ <τῶν> δι' ὄψεως τούτων αὐτῶν μιμημάτων* is the reading our editor would substitute for the Vulgate *ἄνευ διάψεως τούτων αὐτῶν μιμημάτων*. He has in his favor the doubtfulness of *διάψεως*, which is not found elsewhere before Plutarch, though we may of course ask, where did Plutarch get it if not here? But I think what Mr. Archer-Hind calls "an uncouth phrase" admits of a strong defense by Platonic analogies. The stars are but an image of true mathematical movements; cf. Rep. 529 D *τῇ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ποικιλίᾳ παραδείγμασι χρηστέον*. An orrery, then, would be one of those imitations twice removed on which Plato's imagination loves to dwell. Hence the *αὐτὸν* on which editors stumble; cf. Repub.

510 E *τούτοις μὲν ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐτὸν χρώμενοι.*

41 C *ἀθανάτοις ὄμώνυμον*. *όμώνυμος* in Plato is on its way to the technical Aristotelian sense (cf. Parmen. 133 D), but never reaches it. Its force here is rhetorical, as *θεῖον* shows. The logical connotations of the Aristotelian adverb *όμωνύμως*, which Plato does not use, are misleading. Below, is it not just possible that *ἐθελόντων* is

genitive absolute (cf. 42 E and 47 A *ἰδόντων*), and that *τῶν ἀεὶ δίκη* means the justice of the “eternities”? cf. Leges 904 E *αὐτῇ τοι δίκη* *ἐστὶ θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπὸν ἔχοντιν*, and 905 A *ἡν πασῶν δικῶν διαφερόντως ἔταξαν.—ὑπαρξάμενος*. This “transitive” (?) use of the middle of this verb is quoted in Liddell and Scott and referred to this passage.

41 D. Our editor's note is a singular mixture of truth and error. He rightly emphasizes the distinction (confounded by Martin) between the *νομή* or apportionment to the stars of 41 D, and the *σπόρος* or sowing in the planets *ὅργανα χρόνου* of 42 D. But otherwise his interpretation is almost identical with that of Martin, which he pronounces “wholly un-Platonic, indeed unintelligible,” but which he must have read very hastily. Martin thinks God first apportioned among the heavenly bodies large masses of soul, out of whose substance the individual souls were afterwards made, and into which they were finally to be reabsorbed. He does not deny, as Mr. Archer-Hind thinks, the formation of the individual souls out of these larger souls, but he implies that an inexhausted portion of the larger soul is left in the star, and that the individual soul on its return is merged in this. Mr. Archer-Hind's view differs only in that he assumes the deposits in the stars to be all used up in the formation of individual souls, and that he does not expressly state that the single souls on their return to the star merge their individuality. Both are in error, as is Mr. Henry Jackson, when he speaks (J. of Phil. 25, p. 22) of “several parcels of souls—assigned to their respective stars.” The souls assigned to the stars are already divided—the individualization is accomplished by the *νομή*. Surely the stars are numerous enough to allow of this, and at any rate there is not a word in the Greek that suggests a further division. The close analogy of the myth at the end of the Republic makes this certain to a delicate literary sense. The word of Lachesis Daughter of Necessity (617 E) answers ethically to the Demiurgus' enumeration of the laws of destiny (cf. *θεὸς ἀναίτιος* with *ἴνα τῆς ἐπειτα εἴη κακίας . . . ἀναίτιος* 42 D), and the souls are in each case distinct individuals prepared for the mortal birth. That the Timaeus describes an absolute beginning and the Republic merely the beginning of a new cycle is irrelevant to the argument. In both passages Plato's imagination associates individual souls with stars; cf. Rep. 621 B *καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξαπίνης ἄλλον ἄλλη φέρεσθαι ἀνω εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ἀττοντας ὡσπερ ἀστέρας*. The Platonic tradition has always understood in this sense, “quel che Timeo delle anime argomenta.” Cf. also Repub. 611 A *ὅτι ἀεὶ ἀν εἰεν αἱ αὐταὶ*.

41 Ε τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἔδειξε. We need not be surprised that "here in Plato's maturest period we have something closely resembling the ἀνάμνησις of the Phaedo and Phaedrus." The idea was always present to Plato, and its expression was always mythical; cf. Polit. 278 C θαυμάζομεν ἀν οὐν, εἰ ταῦτὸν τόντο ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ φύσει περὶ τὰ τῶν πάντων στοιχεῖα πεπονθεῖ κ. τ. λ., the meaning of which passage is substantially the same as that of Meno 81 CD, though the suggestion of reminiscence in the former passage is wholly lost in Jowett's translation, and the negative half of the doctrine is, I think, exaggerated by Campbell's rendering of *πεπονθεῖα*, "naturally liable to the same infirmity." The Meno and Phaedrus in reality affirm no more than the Timaeus and the Politicus. See the persistently ignored *loci*, Meno 86 B καὶ τὰ μὲν γε ἀλλα οὐκ ἀν πάννι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου δισχυριστίμην κ. τ. λ., and Phaedrus 252 C and 265 C τὰ μὲν ἀλλα τῷ ὅντι παιδιὰ πεπαισθαι.

42 Α βίᾳα παθήματα are the *involuntary* affections forced upon us by the impingement of the external world on our bodies (cf. 43 C τὰ τῶν προσπιπτόντων παθήματα ἐκάστοις)—Das Blendnen der Erscheinung | Die sich an unsere Sinne drängt—with their inevitable concomitants of pleasure and pain (cf. 64 A). There may be a slight further implication of "masterful"; cf. Phaedrus 254 A, 254 D, and *infra* 43 B βίᾳ δ' ἐφέροντο.

42 Ε καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀκόλουθα ἔκείνοις. These words seem to be omitted in the translation. They refer, I suppose, to the *παθήματα* of 61 CD, which are inseparable from *σάρξ* and the *θυητὸν εἶδος ψυχῆς*. Martin's "tout ce dont elle pouvait avoir besoin" is obviously wrong. Stallbaum without further explanation rightly renders "et omnia his consequentia."

43 Α ἐπίρρυτον σῶμα; cf. Gorgias 494 B ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἔστι τὸ ἥδεως ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ὡς πλεῖστον ἐπίρρειν.

43 D ἐπέσχον . . . ιοῦσαν. Vide si tanti est Cratyl. 416 B, 417 D.

44 B ἔμφρονα γιγνόμενον. "Note that he is only put in the way to become rational," says our editor. Note rather that a periphrasis with *γίγνεσθαι* is a marked feature of Plato's elaborate style; cf. Polit. 277 D, Tim. 47 E. For the complicated phrasing with *ἀπορεῖν* cf. the similar use with *παρέχειν*, Phaedr. 274 E, 238 A, Tim. 88 E, etc.

44 C τοῦ βίου διαπορευθεὶς ζωὴν. "The conscious existence of his life-time." There is no question of consciousness here. The phrase is loosely pleonastic; but, if we must discriminate, *ζωὴ* is the mere vitality and *βίος* the moral fabric of weal or woe, success or failure,

reared thereon. Hence, Repub. 620 AB, Plato can speak of κύκνου and ἀετοῦ βίον. Below, in ἀκριβέστερον, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτων, the text and punctuation offend. Put a period after ἀκριβέστερον and read τὰ δὴ with Par. A. Bekker and Martin.

45 B τοιῷδε ἐνδήσαντες αἰτίᾳ. The translation, "on the plan I shall explain," hardly brings out the subtle Platonic suggestion that the αἰτίας λογισμός (Meno 98 A), in this case λογισμὸς θεοῦ, or teleological adaptation, is the strongest Atlas to keep anything in its place (Phaedo 99). Below, in φῶς ἡμερον οἰκεῖον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, σῶμα, etc. Madvig's expunction of comma after ἡμέρας is unnecessary; the etymological pun is better felt with the other punctuation. The word σῶμα here is simply used to describe the shaping and forming of the ὄψις, so that it becomes, as it were, an extension of the physiological body; cf. 64 D ἦν δὴ σῶμα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐρρήθη καθ' ἡμέραν ἔνυμφος ἡμῶν γίγνεσθαι, and the use of σῶμα in 56 DE.

46 A ἀφομοιώθεντα ἐντὸς ἔξω τε ἐγερθεῖσιν ἀπομνημονεύμενα φαντάσματα. Our editor rightly, I think, glosses ἔξω, "when we have emerged from the dream world." His translation, "are remembered as outside us," seems to give a different shade of thought. ἐντὸς and ἔξω are practically equivalent to ὅντας and ὅπας.

46 E ὅσαι δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλων μὲν κινούμενων—γίγνονται. Instead of rendering these as partitive genitives, may we not construe them with γίγνονται ὑπὸ, and render: "Those which are the transitory products (γίγνονται ὑπὸ) of things themselves in motion and different from the disparate things they of necessity move"? For the thought cf. Theaetet. 160 B and 156 D sqq. For the idiomatic use of ἀλλων and ἔτερα cf. Tim. 55 D, 52 E, and Polit. 262 A. For κινούμενος used absolutely without ὑπὸ cf. 53 A.

47 C ὅσον τ' αὖ μουσικῆς φωνῇ χρήσιμον. The reading φωνῇ for the received φωνῆς is not happy. φωνῇ χρήσιμον is hardly Greek for "expressed in sound." Our editor has failed to follow Plato's thought, which is this: Utterance generally is given us for teleological ends, for (1) λόγος is obviously a servant of reason, and (2) musical utterance too, so far as useful, has a purpose beyond mere pleasure; cf. Leges 667-8, and the use of χρῆται in 654 C.

48 A ἥ φέρειν πέφυκεν; cf. Epin. 988 C καὶ φορὰ κρείττων καὶ τιμιότερα ἦν τὸ σῶμα εἰληχε φέρειν, etc., with Leges 887 B τύχη δὲ φερόμενα, etc. Stallbaum is practically about right in saying that the πλανωμένη αἰτία is *materia corporum*. Strictly speaking, of course, it is any operative agency not directed to the single σκοπός of the Good. But when Plato has once used the principle that soul is ἀρχὴ κινή-

στεως to establish against materialists the priority of *τὰ ψυχῆς* (Leges 896 D), he is comparatively careless as to the exact denomination of the inferior causal agencies to which he is obliged to *concede* (47 E *μεμιγμένη γὰρ οὖν*: cf. Politicus 269 D *ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινωνηκέ γε καὶ σώματος*) a rôle in the universe. Logically, perhaps, they belong to the evil soul (Leges 986-7). But Plato readily falls into the language of the materialists and assigns them to matter. Our editor's dissertation on the origin of evil; his explanation of *ἀνάγκη* as the "laws which govern the existence of *νοῦς* in the form of plurality," and his warning that "these laws once set in motion must needs act constantly according to their nature," and that they will therefore "inevitably under some conditions produce effects which are not beneficial"—all this would be very pertinent in a commentary on Malebranche's principle that "Dieu agit toujours par des volontés générales," but it does not elucidate Plato. Plato's *ἀνάγκη* is not the product of these fine-spun modern subtleties, but springs from the simpler Greek conception of an original chaos, not wholly plastic in the hands of the "artisan of the best in visible things."

48 B *προσήκουσαν ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν* is not a "second fitting cause." *πυρὸς . . . φύσιν . . . αὐτὴν*, etc., is better rendered in the notes: "the nature of fire, etc., before," than in the text, "the very origin of fire," etc.

48 D *πειράσομαι μηδενὸς ἡττον εἰκότα, μᾶλλον δὲ, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς περὶ ἑκάστων καὶ ἔνυπάντων λέγειν.* Archer-Hind renders: "I will strive to give an explanation that is no less probable than another but more so; returning back to describe from the beginning each and all things." Expunge the comma after *δὲ* and translate: I will strive to speak of each and all no less plausibly than others, and even more with reference to (from the starting point of) first principles. Timaeus complains that his predecessors treated the four elements as *ἀρχαῖ*. He will give as plausible an account as they, but will begin from a point nearer the real *ἀρχή*, though even he cannot reach an absolute beginning; cf. 53 D *τὰς δ' ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχὰς ἀνωθεν θεὸς οἰδε.* *μᾶλλον δὲ* thus abruptly used means *vel potius*, as in 57 E, 17 B. I know of no instance where it means "more so," for Thucydides 3, 82 is not in point. *μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* is justified by Laches 189 E *σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἴη ἄν,* which is quoted by Campbell at Theaetet. 179 D. The thought is familiar to Plato; cf. Leges 626 D, where the Athenian stranger is commended: *τὸν γὰρ λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὄρθως ἀναγαγὼν σαφέστερον*

έποιησας. *ἔμπροσθεν* is simply pleonastic: cf. Alcinous εἰσαγωγή VIII ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀρχάμενοι.

48 Ε διηρημένη. This passage, together with 50 CDE, 52 D (*τρία τριχῆ*), and Philebus 23 CD, sufficiently accounts for the *διαιρέσεις* of which Aristotle speaks De Gen. et Corr. II 3, 5. We have the *τρία*, we have paronyms of *διαιρέσις*, and Aristotle's words *τὸ γὰρ μέσον μῆγμα ποιεῖ*, are paralleled explicitly in the Philebus by *τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τούτων ἐν τι ξυμμισγόμενον*, and implicitly in the Timaeus by the figure of father, mother and offspring. Zeller's objection (ed. 1875, II 1, p. 381) that Aristotle is speaking of *ἀπλᾶ σώματα* as *στοιχεῖα* and not of *ἀρχαὶ* is naught. Aristotle is trying to show that his predecessors had two *ἀρχαὶ*, one active and the other passive, and that even Plato's three can be reduced to this; and he is never over-scrupulous when engaged in such a task; cf. the explicit words *τούτοις συμβαίνει δύο ποιεῖν τὰς ἀρχάς*. The Platonic work *Διαιρέσεις* is a myth so far as it rests on Aristotelian testimony.

49 Ε τῷ τόδε καὶ τοῦτο. Our editor exaggerates in ascribing the *οἰκειοτάτη διάλεκτος* of the Heracliteans to Plato, citing Theaetet. 183 A. Parmen. 164 AB is a parallel to Theaetet. 183 A. Here Plato goes only half way with the *ρέοντες*. They can use neither *ἐκεῖνο* nor *τοιοῦτον* (Cratyl. 439 D); he renounces *ἐκεῖνο*, but hopes to be able *τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ περιφερόμενον ὅμοιον* (more idiomatic and forcible than the unnecessary correction *ὅμοίως*; cf. Politicus 287 B *ἐνδεικύναι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ φύσιν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις οὖσαν ταῦς συμπλοκαῖς*)—*καλεῖν*. In short he is able to tell *οἴα ἄπτα ρεῖ τὰ φερόμενα* (Theaetet. 182 C). They are not.

50 Α ὄτιον τῶν ἐναντίων. Our editor corrects Jowett's errors here. For the history of these *ἐναντία* cf. Republic 524 AB, Theaetet. 186 AB, and Aristotle's deduction of the four elements from the *ἐναντιώσεις κατὰ τὴν ἀφήν* De Gen. et Corr. II 2.

50 Α πλάσας ἐκ χρυσοῦ. It is well to see with Mr. Archer-Hind that Aristotle's criticisms of Plato (De Gen. et Corr. II 1, 329a, 17) are irrelevant, but it is necessary also to show Aristotle's justification from his own point of view. The difference between the two thinkers is fundamental and has, I think, never been clearly stated. Plato identifies "matter" with extension, and derives all the qualities of special kinds of matter from the ideas. Nevertheless, to illustrate his meaning he employs an analogy in which "matter" is represented by gold, an *αἰσθητόν* already endowed with qualities. Now, this figure, which for Plato is a mere analogy, corresponds very closely to the actual Aristotelian conception of "matter."

For Aristotle's imagination was closed to all dynamic systems which reduce "matter" to combinations of forces in space. Accordingly he feels that Plato has no right to this illustration unless he is willing to posit his πανδεχές distinctly as an *αἰσθητόν* with sensible qualities, ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἄνευ ἐναντιώσεως εἶναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο αἰσθητὸν ὅν. But Plato, he thinks, has not defined his opinion: 'Ως δὲ ἐν τῷ Τιμαιῷ γέγραπται, οὐδένα ἔχει διορισμόν, etc. Unable, therefore, to join issue directly with Plato on the philosophic problem, he attacks a minor point in his expression, by means of a favorite distinction of his own in Greek usage which he thinks Plato has ignored. In Metaphysics Z 7, 1033a (an interesting locus for the elucidation of our passage) he shows (somewhat confusedly, as usual) that γίγνεσθαι has two uses, that of γίγνεσθαι ἐξ ὑλῆς and γίγνεσθαι ἐκ στερήσεως. In the first case he adds ἐξ οὐδὲ ως ὑλῆς γίγνεται ἔντα λέγεται ὅταν γένηται οὐκ ἐκεῖνο ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον. The result of a γίγνεσθαι ἐκ στερήσεως, however ("How camst thou speakable of mute?") is not denoted by a paronym of the original *στέρησις*, but may be still directly denoted by the name of the ὑποκείμενον necessarily implied in such a γίγνεσθαι. That is, of a man become well from sick we do not predicate "sick" or any term derived from "sick," but we may predicate directly the noun "man" without, as in the former case, having recourse to a derived adjective ἐκείνον. Now an ἀνδρὶς ἐκ λίθου is in a certain sense a γίγνεσθαι ἐκ στερήσεως, but the *στέρησις* being ἀνώνυμος, language treats it as a γίγνεσθαι ἐξ ὑλῆς and we do not call it λίθος, but λίθινος. I have ignored the manifold confusions of this passage, to bring out the meaning which appears more clearly in the distinction between ἀλλοίωσις and γένεσις in De Gen. et Corr. I 4. There it is made plain that Aristotle's reason for working out ἀνδρὶς ἐκ λίθου as a case of *στέρησις* in the Metaphysics, ten lines after he had used it as a case of ἐξ ὑλῆς, is that, strictly speaking, he admits a γένεσις only ὅταν (δέ) ὅλον μεταβάλῃ μὴ ὑπομένοντος αἰσθητοῦ τυποῦ, while the *στέρησις* of the Metaphysics is here identified with ἀλλοίωσις. The transformations of the elements are expressly declared to be γενέσεις in the stricter sense. We are now at last in a position to understand the criticism cited by Mr. Archer-Hind, De Gen. et Corr. II, I, 329a, 17: καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καλῶς λέγεται τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον λεγόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡν μὲν ἀλλοίωσις, ἔστιν οὔτως, ὡν δὲ γένεσις καὶ φθορά, ἀδύνατον ἐκεῖνο προσαγορεύεσθαι ἐξ οὐ γέγονεν. καίτοι γέ φησι μακρῷ ἀληθέστατον εἶναι χρυσὸν λέγειν ἔκαστον εἶναι. Which may be freely paraphrased as follows: Plato has veiled an obscurity in his doctrine by using a case of ἀλλοίωσις

to illustrate what is really *γένεσις* in the strict sense. But the Greek language does not apply the *ἐξ οὐ* directly as a predicate to the product of a strict *γένεσις*. The statement, therefore, that "it would be safer to call figures out of gold, gold," does not help us. Whether Aristotle further means that in any case the *σχήματα* would not be gold but golden, *οὐκ ἐκένο ἀλλ' ἐκείνον*, I cannot say. He ought to mean that.

51 B λόγῳ δὲ δὴ, etc. Has not the exact force of these words been overlooked? Are they not the Platonic expression of Aristotle's *καὶ πρῶτον εἴπωμεν ἔντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λογικῶς*, Met. 1029b, 13?

51 C ἀλλὰ μάτην ἐκάστοτε εἶναι τί φαμεν εἶδος ἐκάστου νοητόν, τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἡν πλὴν λόγος. "But we talk idly when we speak of an intelligible idea as actually existent, *whereas it was nothing but a conception.*" And in the notes: "By *λόγος* Plato means a mental concept or universal; the question is in fact between Sokraticism and Platonism; that is to say, between conceptualism and idealism." This is enough to make one despair of Greek philosophy ever being intelligently studied among us. The Greeks did not use *λόγος* to denote the antithesis between a mere concept and an hypostasis—they used a paronym of *νοῦς*; cf. Parmenides 132 B μὴ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐκαστον η τούτων νόημα καὶ οὐδαμοῦ αὐτῷ προσήκη ἐγγίγνεσθαι ἀλλοθι η ἐν ψυχαῖς. Diogenes Laertius 7, 1, 61 ἐν νόημα δέ ἐστι φάντασμα διανοίας οὐτε τι ὅν οὐτε ποιόν· ὠσανε δέ τι ὅν, etc. Aetii Plac. I, 10, 5 apud Diels Doxog. Graec. p. 309a, 9 οἱ ἀπὸ Ζήνων Στωικοὶ ἐν νοήματα ἡμέτερα τὰς ἰδέας ἔφασαν; ibid. p. 318b, 22 νόημα . . . τὸν χρόνον, οὐχ ὑπόστασιν. Porphyr. εἰσαγωγή Praefat. αὐτίκα περὶ γενῶν τε καὶ εἰδῶν τὸ μὲν εἴτε ὑφέστηκεν εἴτε καὶ ἐν μόναις ψιλαῖς ἐπινοίαις κεῖται. Plato's use of *λόγος* here is obviously analogous to that in Laches 196 C, Euthyd. 286 D, or Critias 46 D ὅτι ἀλλως ἔνεκα λόγου ἐλέγετο. The distinction between "concept" and "idea," which Mr. Jackson finds in Phaedo 100 A-B sqq., has already been criticized by me, Am. J. of Phil. IX, p. 304. The distinction made familiar by Coleridge is absolutely without warrant in Plato. This is just the fundamental difference between Plato and the "Platonists," that for him all "concepts of the understanding," without regard to their dignity, are "ideas."

51 D ὅρος ὅρισθείς μέγας is hardly a "great definition," as our editor renders it. It is rather something between a "criterion" and an "alternative"; cf. the language of Phileb. 56 D, Leges 899 C εἰπόντες ὅρος ἀπαλλαττώμεθα; cf. the parallel reasoning of Phaedo 92 D and Polit. 284 D, where, however, the word *ὅρος* is not used.

52 Αὐτὸς εἰς ἄλλο ποιεῖν. Our editor notes this as an "unmistakable assertion of the solely transcendental existence of the ideas." The difficulties of Parmenides 131 A are insurmountable, he says. "From that time forth *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* (in connection with *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη*) disappear from Plato's vocabulary; *μίμησις* takes their place." To this amazing series of question-begging assertions one can only reply: (1) The "transcendence" of the idea is stated quite as strongly in Symp. 211 A οὐδέ ποντὸν ἐν ἔτερῳ τινί. (2) The chief difficulty of the Parmenides is found in the Republic; cf. 597 C, Tim. 31 A. (3) We have not been told by Mr. Jackson what dialogues were written "from that time forth." (4) The phrase *καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη* is not used by Plato, so that it can be grammatically construed as the denomination of a class of ideas. (5) *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* could not be used by a good Greek stylist of the objects belonging to Mr. Jackson's class of *καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη*. Obviously we can speak of the "presence" of beauty or goodness informing a thing, but we cannot speak of the presence of an ox as lending it "bovinity." That is to say, Plato cannot, though Dionysodorus can; cf. Euthyd. 301 A ἐάν οὖν, ἔφη, παραγένηται σοι βοῦς, βοῦς εἰ, καὶ ὅτι γὰν ἐγώ σοι πάρειμι Διονυσόδορος εἰ; As a matter of fact Plato never uses *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* except of such terms as "good," "true," "beautiful," "reality," "being," and the like, and he continues so to use them till the end. We have no right, therefore, to say that they disappear from his vocabulary in any sense. In the chief passage for the assumed earlier use of *παρουσία*, Phaedo 100 D, Plato expressly says: εἴτε παρουσία εἴτε κοινωνία εἴτε ὅπῃ δὴ καὶ ὅπως προσγενομένη, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτο δισχυρίζομαι, thus betraying the same embarrassment as to the proper terminology that we note in Symp. 211 B ἐκείνου μετέχοντα τρόπον τινὰ τοιούτον, οἷον γιγνομένων τε τῶν ἀλλων, etc., and in Tim. 51 AB μεταλαμβάνον δὲ ἀπορώτατά πη τοῦ νοητοῦ, etc., in view of which last passage it is hard to see how Mr. Archer-Hind can say that Aristotle has no right to apply to the ὑποδοχή the term *μεταληπτικόν* in relation to the ideas. (6) As *παρουσία* and *μέθεξις* do not disappear, so *μίμησις* and its associates *μορφή*, *παράδειγμα*, *ἀποβλέπειν*, etc., do not appear to take the place of rejected terms. Plato throughout uses all these terms according to the exigencies of Greek style. In the Phaedo itself, when he deals with such objects as are naturally most conspicuous in the Timaeus, hot and cold, fire and snow, he employs *μορφή* (103 E; cf. Tim. 50 DE, 52 D). The language of pattern and copy, artist and designer, is especially

appropriate in connection with material things, or with the action of a *Δημιουργός*, be he the Δ. of the Cratylus 389 B, 389 C, of the Republic 500 D, 596 sqq., or of the Timaeus. On Mr. Jackson's theory of a rigid metaphysical and chronological discrimination of these terms, what are the relations of the following passages: Politicus 300 C and Repub. 517 D, Sophist 247 A *δικαιοσύνης ἔξει καὶ παροντίᾳ*, Repub. 509 A *τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔξιν*, Phaedrus 247 D *καθορᾶ μὲν αὐτὴν δικαιοσύνην*, etc., 250 A *ὅταν τι τῶν ἐκεῖ ὄμοιώμα τῶσιν*, 250 B *εἰκόνες*, Philebus 62 A *αὐτῆς δικαιοσύνης* taken with 61 E and 59 C.—Cratyl. 439-40, Theaetet. 157 D, Politicus 285-6. Do these passages imply ideas of good and justice, etc., or are they λόγῳ μάτην?

52 Β ὁνειροπολοῦμεν βλέποντες. Note the hyperbaton of *βλέποντες*, intended, I think, to yield the oxymoron of "a waking dream," though construed with *πρὸς ὅ*; cf. Rep. 476 CD.

52 C ὡς εἰκόνι μὲν, etc. Mr. Archer-Hind's ingenious suggestion that by a *σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον* we are to construe *ἴαντης* with *αὐτὸ-τοῦτο-ἔφ-φ-γέγονεν = παράδειγμα*, will probably find favor. I cannot accept it: (1) Because I cannot credit Plato with such a portentous phrase. (2) Because the force of *οὐδ'*, "not even," is thus ignored. (3) Because the sense yielded is unsatisfactory. The difficulty is, I fear, insoluble by strict logic. The general meaning is that an image deriving no reality from its model must get all its reality from its medium. But does Plato confine himself, as he logically should, to phaenomena or things considered as copies of the ideas? Or in generalizing his thought has he confused the logic of his sentence by insinuating his favorite and familiar notion of images in water or mirrors, which are copies of copies? (cf. the language of Rep. 510 E-511 A). Such inconsistencies are natural in these transcendental matters, as e. g. supra 29 A, where the Demiurgus looks *πρὸς τὸ γεγονός* when by hypothesis no *γεγονός* exists. On the former alternative we must translate: "that to an image it belongs, seeing that not even that which it was made to represent (Zeller, op. cit. p. 603, "Das Wesen zu dessen Darstellung sie dient"; for *ἔφ* φ, cf. Rep. 477 D-478 E, and Parmen. 147 E) belongs to it,¹ but it is ever the fleeting semblance of another," etc., understanding *εἰκόνι* as subject of *φέρεται*. This rendering may be supported by Parmenides 133 DE, where the relation of the "possessive genitive" is said not to obtain between the ideas

¹ Should we read *αὐτῆς* with Stephanus? cf. 29 Β *περὶ τε εἰκόνος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραδείγματος αὐτῆς*.

and their ὄμάνυμα in this world. The thought here may be that while the images are "of" the ideas, the ideas are not in any sense "of" or belonging to the images; cf. Aristotle's precious distinction that the slave is "of" the master, but the master not "of" the slave.

On the second alternative we may conceive Plato, by a natural inconsistency, to be speaking of images twice removed, reflections in water whose very models are in turn only fleeting phantasms of the ideas. On this supposition that φέρεται declares the models of the εἰκόνες to be in their turn only phantasms, we might read ἑαυτοῦ for ἑαυτῆς. I should feel certain of this rendering but for the parallelism of ἐτέρου—των and ἐν ἐτέρῳ τινί, which makes it probable that εἰκών is the subject of φέρεται.

52 C ὡς ἔως ἀν τι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο γέ, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο, etc. "So long as one thing is one and another thing is other, neither of them shall come to be in the other so that the same becomes at once one and two." Our editor, with Jowett, takes the two things to be the idea and the image, and eagerly proclaims the passage to be a repudiation of the "earlier" doctrine of παρονοία. But the context shows that the two things are the idea and space (cf. Zeller ubi supra, pp. 617 and 631). The argument runs: We blindly assert that that which is in no place is nothing. But right reason points out that while the εἰκών, having no reality of its own, must exist in a medium, the true being has no need of such derived reality, and, indeed, so long as the ideas and space are distinct entities, one of them cannot be in the other. Our editor's interpretation makes the argument run: Men blindly assert that everything must be in some place or be nothing. This is true of the image which has no inherent reality, but is not true of the idea—for so long as the idea and the image are distinct entities, neither of them can be in the other—a foeda inconsequentia.

53 D κατὰ τὸν μετ' ἀνάγκης εἰκότα λόγον. "The probable account which is concerned with necessity." I do not think this is the meaning. Plato characteristically tries to suggest to the reader that, though his statements are, strictly speaking, only εἰκότα, there is a kind of logical inevitability in his method that makes them provisionally, and in default of something better, necessary and true; cf. 56 B κατὰ τὸν ὄρθον λόγον καὶ κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα, 68 B μήτε τινὰ ἀνάγκην μήτε τὸν εἰκότα λόγον.

53 E. This passage, wrongly rendered by Jowett and Martin, is given correctly here, all but the last sentence. The clue to the

meaning is found in the deliberately teleological form of expression. We cannot admit that the four elements are not the fairest simple natural bodies. Now, all bodies are constructed from the elementary triangles. If, then, we find the four prettiest combinations of these triangles that will meet the physical conditions we shall have solved our problem. Hence he concludes : *τοῦτ' οὖν προθυμητέον τὰ διαφέροντα κάλλει σωμάτων τέτταρα γένη συναρμόσασθαι καὶ φάναι τὴν τούτων ἡμᾶς φύσιν ίκανῶς εἰληφέναι,* "This, then, must be our effort to put together [out of the triangles] the prettiest kinds of bodies to the number of four, and then assert that we have grasped the nature of them [namely, the four elements, cf. *τούτων* just above in same sense] sufficiently." Our editor translates : We must do our diligence then to put together these four kinds of bodies most excellent in beauty, and so we shall say we have a full comprehension of their nature." But this rendering fails to bring out the distinction between the four elements and the four ideal constructions deliberately devised to meet the conditions of (1) conformity with phaenomena, (2) of maximum of attainable beauty. *τὰ διαφέροντα*, etc., cannot be construed "*these* four kinds of bodies," etc., nor can *τούτων* be referred to them.

54 B. The note on the "extreme *ἀγέθεια* of Plato's theory" should at least mention Zeller's assertion (op. cit. II 1, p. 674) that the correlation of the four elements with the four geometrical solids is taken from Philolaus.

55 A ὅλου *περιφεροῦς διανεμητικὸν*, etc., is not "dividing *its* whole surface into four equal and similar parts," but dividing the surface of the circumscribed sphere; cf. Martin ad loc.

55 D *ταύτη στάσις* does not mean "if he stopped short there," but either "taking up this position" (cf. Campbell on Theaetet. 171 D, and Parmen. 130 D *ὅταν ταύτη στῶ*), or "pausing to reflect on this view." *ἴστημι* is constantly used by both Plato and Aristotle to denote the checking of the mind either to consider an *ἀπορία* or grasp a fixed idea amid the flux of sense.

57 B *εἰν δ' εἰς αὐτὰ ἵη*. I think both grammar and context require us to read *εἰς αὐτά*, an emendation proposed by me a few years ago. This will appear if we examine the argument of 57 AB and note the balanced parallelism of the language. Beginning *ῳδε γὰρ δὴ* (56 E), Plato supposes air or water to be caught and cut up by a mass of fire. Earth is excluded by hypothesis, *οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλο γε εἶδος ἔλθοι ποτ' ἀν* 56 D, and hence *ξυστὰν μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν* cannot be used of it. On this supposition (1) the water or

air may become fire, *eis τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν*, when conflict ceases; or, (2) *eis ἄλλο τι γιγνόμενον*, water may recombine as water or change to air, and air may recombine to air or change to water, when the conflict may continue. The parallel alternative hypothesis is that the *συμπρότερα* elements are caught *ἐν τοῖς μείζοις*. The only possible, or at least plausible examples of this, and the only cases Plato's language shows he contemplates, would be air in water and fire in air. Then, on this supposition (1) *ξυνίστασθαι μὲν ἐθέλοντα eis τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ιδέαν* (cf. (1) above), the air becomes water or the fire air and the conflict ceases; or (2) reading, as I propose, *ἐὰν δ' eis αὐτὰ οἷς*, the air or fire recombine in their own form, and the conflict continues. Air in water either recombines as air or becomes water. If it recombines as air the conflict is maintained with the water, or perhaps with fire from without. Fire in air either reunites as fire or becomes air. If it reunites as fire the conflict is maintained with the air, or perhaps with water approaching. The parallelism with (2) above is exact, only instead of *eis ἄλλο τι γιγνόμενον* we have *eis αὐτὰ οἷς*, because in (2) above the air or water may either become fire, or return into themselves, or pass the one into the other. But the conditions of (2) here allow fire in air or air in water only the choice of returning into themselves or passing into the element by which they are surrounded. *Non datur tertium*. The concinnity of this parallelism is wholly lost if we read *eis αὐτὰ*, and render "if they assail the others." Nor can any good reason be assigned for the triangular contest then implied by *καὶ τῶν ἀλλων τι ξυνιὸν γενῶν μάχηται*. Lastly, *eis αὐτά* is grammatically much more plausible than *eis αὐτά*. Stallbaum's examples of *eis τινα iέναι* for "assail" are all doubtful, and admit, I think, of discrimination; cf. Symp. 219 E *στρατεία—eis Ποτίδαιαν*, and Xen. Mem. IV 5, 14 *ἔθραμον eis τοὺς πολεμίους*. The best example that my reading supplies, Herod. VII 103 *καὶ οἱεν ἀναγκαζόμενοι μάστιγι ἐσ πλεῦνας*, is not quite satisfactory. On the other hand, *eis τι iέναι* or *γίγνεσθαι* and similar expressions are constantly used by Plato and Aristotle in the sense of "pass into," "change to," etc.; cf. Tim. 52 A, 49 C, 56 DE, 57 A, 84 C, 64 E *ἐπι*, 65 A, Phaedr. 249 B, Phaedo 87 A, Repub. 434 D, Republic 497 B *eis τὸ ἐπιχώριον φιλεῖ κρατούμενον iέναι*, Ar. Met. 1055a, 7; Phileb. 32 B *τὴν δ' eis τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν οὖσαν*. This last passage, taken with such expressions as Tim. 32 C *eis ταῦτὸν αὐτῷ ξυνελθόν*, and 59 A *eis ταῦτὸν αὐτῷ ξυνίσταται*, brings us very near the reading proposed here.

58 A ἐπειδὴ συμπεριέλαβε is, of course, not "when it had embraced," but "since it has" (and does).

58 D διὰ τὸ μετέχον εἶναι τῶν γενῶν τῶν ὕδατος ὅσα σημικρά, ἀνίσων ὄντων. *γενῶν* does not mean primarily the "corpuscles" of water, as Mr. Archer-Hind thinks, but the kinds of water resulting from the different sizes of the corpuscles, or rather, triangles; cf. 57 CD. The great sub-class of "liquid" water is composed chiefly of the smaller kinds. *ἀνίσων ὄντων* may well be a parenthetical genitive absolute; cf. 82 A ἐπειδὴ γένη πλείονα ἔνδος ὄντα τυγχάνει. For the rest Plato is by no means consistent in using *εἶδος* for the four elements and *γένος* for their "kinds"; cf. 57 C, 58 A, 58 C, 60 B *γῆς δὲ εἴδη*, 61 C, 61 D, 66 D, 82 A.

58 E. Martin merely queries whether Plato supposed the fire to dilate the triangles. Here, as elsewhere, Mr. Archer-Hind seems to have construed the French very hastily; cf. my notes on 41 D and 88 A.

59 C τὴν τῶν εἰκότων μύθων μεταδιώκοντα ἰδέαν. Not "following the outline of our probable account," but "aiming (only) at probability in our discourse," lit. "following the type of probable words."

60 B μέχρι φύσεως. Our editor is the first to publish a correct explanation of these words, which are sadly misconceived by Jowett and others.

60 B-61 C. The summary, p. 219, is wrong in saying that water predominates in glass and earth in wax, but the translation, 61 C, corrects the error.

60 C ἀλύτως ὕδατι. Our editor rightly construes these words together, correcting Jowett and Martin.

61 B. Mr. Archer-Hind's conjecture, *τοῦθ' ὕδωρ* for *πῦρ ἀέρα* should be received into the text.

61 C. *σχήματα* gives, I think, better grammar and sense than *σχήμασι*. The syntax is analogous to 47 E. The meaning is that the *σχήματα* in their various modifications have been exhibited as *εἴδη*. Ibid. *τὰ δὲ πλέον ὕδατος*, etc. The translation is right, but the summary, p. 219, by an error of inadvertence, makes water predominate in glass, earth in wax.

61 C *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν αἰσθησιν δεῖ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀεὶ*. "First we must assign to all the substances we have described the property of causing sensation." So also Zeller (op. cit. p. 679). *αἰσθησιν ὑπάρχειν* in this sense is justified by *αἰσθησιν σχῆματα* Laws 894 A, but this rendering does not take account of *ἀεὶ* or the present

participle. Translate rather: "In all we are going to say the existence of sensation must be assumed"; cf. 53 B ὡς δὲ τοῦτο λεγόμενον ὑπαρχέτω, and λεγόμενα in 53 C.

61 D. This passage, sadly mangled by Jowett, Stallbaum, and Martin, is nearly right here. *ἴνα οὖν ἔξῆς τὰ παθήματα λέγηται τοῖς γένεσιν* does not mean "in order that the properties of the several elements may be discussed in due order," but "in order that we may take up the *παθήματα* next in order after the *γένη* (i. e. without interposing the discussion of the mortal soul, etc., logically required). For this use of *ἔξης* cf. 27 E τὸ δ' ἔξης δὴ τούτουσι.

63 A *ἐν οἷς ὅντα*, etc., does not mean "and under what conditions we use them," etc., but "from what sphere or domain where they really are we have been led by custom (and analogy) to transfer them," etc.; cf. *ἐν φ—ἐκεῖθεν* 49 E and 37 C; cf. 67 E *ἐν ἀλλῳ γένει τὰ αὐτὰ*. So in substance Martin, whom our editor seems to have overlooked. Below, Martin's "en posant les principes suivants" is much better than "on the following hypothesis."

63 E. There is no reason for translating *παθημάτων* "conditions" here.

64 A. The exact force of this passage has, I think, been missed hitherto. Plato says he now will take up as last of the *κοινά* pleasure and pain, both as connected with the sensations already discussed and as involved in the special senses. The treatment of the special senses, except in so far as they involve pleasure and pain, is continued in the next chapter, 65 B. The Greek indicates this, but our editor's version, I think, does not. He ignores the force of *καὶ* before *λύπας*. Translate, not "that is the cause of pleasure and pain accompanying the sensations which we have discussed; and also the affections which produce sensation by means of the separate bodily organs and which involve attendant pains and pleasure," but "the cause of pleasure and pain in the affections we have discussed and (in the) affections which producing sensation through the special organs involve also attendant pains and pleasures." The affections of the special senses do not all or always involve attendant pains and pleasures, as Plato goes on to show.

64 B *ἀναμνησκόμενοι τὸ τῆς εὑκινήτου τε καὶ δυσκινήτου φύσεως ὅτι διειδόμεθα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν* is not "recollecting how we defined above the source of mobility and immobility," but simply "bearing in mind our former distinction between the mobile and immobile nature." This distinction plays a great part in Platonism, especially in ethics;

cf. Repub. 503 C, Polit. 306 E-307 AB, Theaetet. 194-5, Polit. 311 A, and Protag. 349 E, quoted as key-note to John Morley's Voltaire, and his statement suggested by Plato that "the cardinal element of character is the speed at which its energies move." *ἐν τοῖς πρόσθετοις* refers to 61 E-62 BC rather than to 55 B.

64 C *τὸ πρῶτον πάθος*, etc., is needed as subject of *πάρεσχε*, and must be "understood" with *διαδιδόντων*; cf. infra on 82 A.

65 B *ἰδίοις μέρεσιν*. More than "separate parts"; cf. Theaetet. 185 A, 186 D *ὅργανον ιδίον*. The *κοινά* of the Theaetetus, however, are conceptions of the mind. Below, for use of *δρώντων* cf. 64 E, 62 B, Theaetet. 160 C *τὸ ἐμὲ ποιοῦν*, and Ar. Met. 1010b, 34 *ἀ ποιεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν*.

65 D. Construe *ῥύπτικὰ* with *τούτων*

66 AB. This "portentous sentence" can, I think, be cured by reading *ἐχόντων*, as our editor suggests, and by inserting *τε* after *περιτεινόμενα* (66 B). *ἀ δὴ—καθαρᾶς* is an explanatory parenthesis. *ἀ δὴ=ἄτε*, as often. The following infinitives, *γενέσθαι*, etc., will then have the same construction as the preceding *περιπίπτειν* and *ἀπεργάζεσθαι*.

68 B. "παρασχόμενον scripsi," says our editor, and adds in a note: "Stallbaum, accepting *μαγνημένου*, oddly enough retains *παρασχομένη*." Here, as elsewhere, he does injustice to Stallbaum by failing to distinguish between text and notes. Stallbaum expressly says: "deinde pro *παρασχομένῃ* haud dubie de conjectura Lindavii reponi oportet *παρασχόμενον*."

68 D *τὰ πολλὰ εἰς ἐν ξυγκεραννύνται*, etc. It is a mistake to refer this to the problem of *ἐν καὶ πολλά* in cognition. In 83 C and elsewhere, man is quite competent to this problem. It is the creation of one out of many, etc., that Plato reserves to God; cf. Sympos. 191 D. His feeling is analogous to that of the Xenophontic Socrates when he asks if men expect to control the weather by knowledge of its causes.

69 D. The translation is excellent. Is there any authority for making *εὐπαράγων* active, or for rendering *λύπας ἀγαθῶν φυγάς*, "pains that scare good things away"? The note on 86 E seems to imply that pains scare good things away because they bring evil on the soul, but the *σπεύδων τὸ μὲν ἐλεῖν ἀκαίρως τὸ δὲ φυγεῖν* of 86 C is more to the point, and favors the other rendering; cf. Leges 792 C ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς δὴ λόγος οὐθ' ἡδονάς φησι δεῖν διώκειν τὸν ὄρθον βίον οὐτ' αὐτὸν παράπαν φεύγειν τὰς λύπας.

70 B *κατέστησαν*. Not "made into the guardhouse," but "placed in the guardhouse"; cf. 71 B.

73 A τὴν τῶν ἐντέρων γένεσιν; cf. 76 E, 75 D φύσιν τὸν προσώπου, 75 A, 70 C, 71 A, 47 B φιλοσοφίας γένος, 75 B, 76 A, 76 C. For other pleonasms cf. 25 E δαιμονίως ἐκ τινὸς τύχης, 26 E, 31 A μεθ' ἐτέρου δεύτερον, 31 B, 38 C, 66 E, 59 A πεπηγός εἶναι γένος, 70 C, 77 B ἐν δίκῃ ὀρθότατα.

74 A. τῇ θατέρου must, I think, be hopelessly corrupt. Mr. Jackson's interpretation that *θάτερον* is plurality, and the joints represent the principle of plurality in the bones, is more ingenious than convincing.

74 B ἔξιν. This seems an anticipation of the Stoic specialized sense of *ἔξις*.

75 A τὸ περὶ; cf. 24 B, 46 A, 56 C, 67 C, 80 A, 74 E, 79 E, 80 D, 81 E.

75 D τῶν ἀναγκαῖων καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων. The *ἀναγκαῖον* is contrasted with the *ἀγαθὸν* in Plato as the *condicio sine qua non* of a desired end; cf. Tim. 70 E, Republic 347 C, 493 C, where Jowett is misleading, and the pregnant use of the adverb *ἀναγκαῖος* Tim. 69 D, Leges 757 E, and Republic 527 A *γελοῖος τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖος*, where commentators do not seem to understand that it refers to the necessity (cf. 511 AC) geometers are under of employing the inferior intellectual method, and not at all to the ludicrous necessity of "il faut vivre" so strangely introduced by Jowett.

77 B στραφέντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Our editor repeats the usual wrong rendering of these words, which was long since corrected by Zeller (op. cit. p. 731). Translate: for it ever remains passive to all sensations, and its generation has not granted to it to turn in and revolve upon itself, and repelling motion from without to use its own motion, and getting some perception of its own nature to reflect on its own concernings. The idiomatic use of the participle *στραφέντι*, to which the force of the negative must be extended, is analogous to though not identical with that in Virgil's *nec dextrae erranti deus asfuit*. A closer parallel is Rep. 582 B τῷ δὲ φιλοκερδεῖ ὅπῃ πέψυκε τὰ ὄντα μανθάνοντι τῆς ἡδονῆς ταύτης ὡς γλυκεῖά ἔστιν οὐκ ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι, etc. For the rest this is not a matter of opinion. Plato's use of phrases like "revolve in and upon itself," "use its own motions," etc., leaves no room for doubt. They always refer to the higher activities of intelligence and its allies, and could not possibly be employed to disparage the passivity of plants; cf. supra 34 A, 36 E, and infra 89 E ὅτι τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν ἀργίᾳ δάγον καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κινήσεων ἡσυχίαν ἀγον ἀσθενέστατον, etc., which shows that to "use its own motion" is an attribute of the active intelligence.

For the thought in *παιδευθέντα* above cf. Theaetet. 167 B and Bacon's Georgics of the Mind.

77 C-80. Mr. Archer-Hind, with the aid of the Greek original of the Commentary of Galen, published in 1848, claims to have improved on his predecessors' treatment of the theory of respiration.

80 B εὐφροσύνην. Cf. Protag. 337 B ἡμεῖς τ' αὐτοὶ ἀκούοντες μάλιστ' ἀντὶ οὗτως εὐφραινοίμεθα, οὐχ ἡδοίμεθα. Ἡδονή, χαρά and εὐφροσύνη are progressive in dignity. The Stoicks allowed χαρά to their sage; cf. Diog. Laert. VII 1, 116 καὶ τὴν μὲν χαρὰν ἐναντίαν φασὶν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν οὐσαν εὐλογον ἔπαρσιν. Plato (Phileb. 33 B) rejects χαίρειν of God. Hence, εὐφρανθεῖς Tim. 37 C, and εὐφραινόμενοι Leges 739 D. Aristotle is less scrupulous: ὁ θεὸς δὲ μίαν καὶ ἀπλῆν χαίρει ἡδονὴν Nic. Eth. 7, 14.

81 A ἡ φορὰ—ἥν τὸ ξυγγενὲς πᾶν φέρεται. Cf. Epin. 988 C. The Timaeus affects cognate, adverbial, and "inner" accusatives; cf. 76 C, 42 C, 40 B, 87 C, 71 E, 60 C, 50 D, and cf. the genitives in 34 A, 50 D, 47 B ὅν . . . τυφλωθεῖς, 20 A, and the dative in 87 D with acc. in 87 E.

81 C τρέφοντα ἐκ πολλῶν δμοίων. Aristotle's real reason, I think, for saying that Plato has treated οὔτε περὶ ἀλλοιώσεως οὔτε περὶ αὐξήσεως τίνα τρόπον ὑπάρχουσι τοῖς πράγμασιν, is that Plato fails to explain that οἵστι μὲν γὰρ ὡς τὸ ὄμοιον δμοίωφ αὐξάνεται οἵστι δ' ὡς ἀνομοίωφ (De Gen. et Corr. I 5), and appears to be unaware of the further exquisite distinction that "growth is the accession of potentially *quantified* flesh, while nutrition is the accession of potential flesh" (*ibid.* in fine).

82 A. Our editor, mainly after Martin, explains correctly a passage bungled by Stallbaum and Jowett. Grammar and concinnity, I think, require us to read προσλαμβάνον. The article τὸ is certainly needed with μὴ προσῆκον, and could hardly be spared from προσλαμβάνειν. The participial construction τὸ μὴ προσῆκον ἔκαστον ἐαντῷ προσλαμβάνον is perfectly simple, and parallel with μετάστασις . . . γιγνομένη above; cf. similarly with παρέχειν 64 C, 65 A, and for thought cf. Symp. 188.

82 B. Construe ἐκτὸς with τούτων.

82 C τὰ πλεῖστα ὥπερ τὰ πρόσθεν, etc. This can hardly mean that the majority of ailments are due to defects of the πρῶται ξυστάσεις. What Plato says is that of the ailments connected with the δεύτεραι ξυστάσεις some are due, like those of the former class, to πλεονεξία (cf. Leges 906 C), but the severest to a reversal of the true order of generation. So Zeller, op. cit. p. 733.

82 D "τὸ δ' αὐτὸν answers ἄμα μὲν." "Dein isti ἄμα μὲν nihil in sequentibus respondeat," Stallbaum. ἄμα μὲν obviously is answered by αὐτό τε; cf. Herod. 8, 51 ἄμα μὲν . . . πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸν follows up τὸ δὲ above; cf. my note on the particles, A. J. P., IX 409 (note), and τὸ δ' αὐτὸν after a succession of τὸ δὲ 83 C.

82 D διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν δύστῶν διηθούμενον. Can it be that Mr. Archer-Hind has, like Stallbaum (per ossium densitatem) and Martin (à travers la substance), ignored the difference between the genitive and the accusative? cf. 59 B, 60 B.

83 C ἀξιον ἐπωνυμίας; cf. διαφανῆ 60 A, Repub. 554 ACD, 445 C, Sophist 229 D.

83 C τὸ δ' αὐτὸν. The anacoluthon favors perspicuity by putting the main thought first. This is a constant feature of the Timaeus; cf. 30 C, 37 E, 40 C, 29 B, 41 C, 69 B, etc., hence the frequency of pendent constructions, accusative absolutes and the like.

83 D. Ought we not to read νέον for νέου?

84 A καὶ μηκέτι αὐτὸν ἐξ ινῶν ἄμα καὶ νεύρων. Our editor accepts Lindau's ἄμα for αἷμα, and emends αὐτὸν to αὐτὸν. This is possible, but the Vulgate can be defended. αὐτὸν does not usually introduce an antithesis in the Timaeus. The substance spoken of is αἷμα, indirectly at least (82 CD). If Plato had had in mind Aristotle's two kinds of *lives* he would have indicated it. The reading of Schneider in the Didot edition is plausible: μηκέτι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων (sc. σαρκῶν) αἷμα καὶ νεύρων.

84 E ἡ δὴ. Stephanus is offended by ἡ with following τὰ, and rewrites the passage. Stallbaum's instances, Gorg. 483 A, Protag. 313 A, etc., are not in point. 43 C αἱ δὴ is similar, but there is no article. An easy emendation would be γ, which is in place in etymologies and explanations of verbal usage; cf. 61 D γ πῦρ θερμὸν λέγομεν, and Cratyl. 409 D κατὰ τίνα τρόπον καλεῖται; cf. Thucyd. I 101 γ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.

86 B ξυμβαίνει γιγνόμενα. This phrase seems to have been one of the mannerisms of Plato's "later" style; cf. Phileb. 42 D, Leges 682 D, 867 E, 874 E. It is crudely imitated by the writer of the Seventh Epistle. 328 A ξυμβήναι γενομένους and 330 C bis.

86 B τὸ μὲν μανίαν τὸ δὲ ἀμαθίαν. Plato's use of these terms can be traced a little further. The ἀμαθία of the Sophist, which is ignorance plus conceit of knowledge, receives an ethical connotation, as (1) the atheist's conceit of knowledge (Leges 886 B; cf. 881 A), (2) as ignorance of the saving truth of the Republic that virtue is happiness (cf. Leges 734 B), or as the supreme folly of not conforming the will to that knowledge (Leges 689 AB); cf.

Leges 886 BC, where two causes of wrong-doing are assigned: ἀκράτεια ἥδονῶν = *μανία* (cf. 888 A), and ἀμαθία τις μᾶλα χαλεπή, that is, atheism which is called *νόσος* 888 B.

86 C τὸ μὲν ἐλεῖν . . . τὸ δὲ φυγεῖν. Not "grasp the one or shun the other," but, with Martin, "suivre tel objet, ou de fuir tel autre."

86 D ἀκράτεια καὶ ὄνειδος. The text has already been suspected by Zeller, who conjectures *κατ' ὄνειδος*, op. cit. p. 719. The slight pleonasm is perfectly natural; cf. Ast. s. v.

86 D *κακὸς μὲν γάρ ἔκῶν οὐδεὶς*. Ethical not metaphysical considerations must be called in to explain Plato's position towards free will. Plato was logically a consistent determinist as far as his instinct as a moral teacher allowed. He feels, with a great modern necessitarian, that it is well to look upon the actions of other men as necessitated, on our own as free. Hence, as a theologian he says *αἰτίᾳ ἀλομένου*, and as a poet, "Love virtue, she alone is free" (*ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀδέσποτον* Rep. 617 E), in spite of the inevitableness of Aristotle's objection that virtue and vice must be equally free or necessitated.

Similar inconsistencies can be pointed out in the materialistic school of determinists, from Lucretius (De Rerum Natura III 319-322) to Diderot.

Above *κακὸς κακῶς δοξάζεται*, *κακῶς* should not be omitted. It is characteristic of the unctuous style of the Timaeus to qualify with seeming pleonasm the state of mind that accompanies the acceptance or rejection of certain opinions; cf. 30 A *δρθότατα*, 31 A, 49 D *αἰσχυνεῖται τις ἑαυτὸν*, 62 D, 55 C *ἐμμελῶς ἀποροῦ*.

87 A οὕτω κακῶς παγέντων. "These vicious conditions" is vague. The meaning is: the physical organization (temperament) of men being so vicious; cf. 82 C *ξυμπαγέντος*. The participle alone in genitive absolute is frequent in the Timaeus; cf. 47 A *ἰδόντων*, 19 A, 64 E, 42 E, 58 D (?), 41 C (?). Below, *πολιτεῖαι κακαί*; cf. Leges 832 B *τὰς οὐ πολιτείας ἔγωγε αἰτίας εἶναι φημι*.

87 B *φυτεύοντας*. Not "those who train," but simply the parents; cf. ὁ *φυτεύσας πατήρ* Soph. O. T. 793. The translation here, as in 18 D, misses the familiar Greek antithesis of *φύσις* and *τροφή*, nature and nurture (cf. Repub. 451 C). Parents are responsible for the constitutions as well as for the training of their offspring; cf. Rep. 417 E of valetudinarians *καὶ ἔκγονα αὐτῶν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἔτερα τοιαῦτα φυτεύειν*.

88 A *ῥένματα*. Fluxes, not chills. Ibid. *τ' αναντία αἰτιάσθαι*. Schneider's reading, *τὰ ἀναίτια*, is tempting. The thought is that of Rep. 407 C *καὶ Ιλίγγους ὑποπτεύοντα καὶ αἰτιώμενη ἐκ φιλοσοφίας*

έγγιγνεσθαι. In the note, Martin's "les qualités de l'âme ne sauraient jamais être ni devenir trop belles," does not mean, as our editor seems to think, "they ought never to be trop belles," but "it is impossible for them to be trop belles." As the expression occurs, however, not in Martin's statement of the Platonic view, but in his own protest against it, one error corrects the other. For the rest, Martin is right to the extent that a modern contemplates with more complacency than Plato did a soul that o'er-informs its tenement of clay.

88 B *μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνευ σώματος κινεῖν.* This seems to have become proverbial; cf. Sallust, Cat. 8, *Ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat.*

89 B *τοῦ τε γένους ξύμπαντος.* This is not necessarily an assertion that the "species wears out." It may mean only that there is a maximum fixed for all members of a species generally, as well as a special limit for each member.

89 C *παιδαγωγεῖν.* The contrast between this and Repub. 406 A is one of the strongest in all Plato.

90 A *δάιμονα;* cf. Diog. Laert. VII 53; Marcus Aurelius V 27 and passim; Pope's "the God within the mind"; Matthew Arnold, *Palladium*; Swinburne, Preface to "Songs before Sunrise."

90 C *θεραπεία δὲ δῆ παντὶ, etc.* Not "the care of this is the same for every man," but "there is one general principle for the proper care of anything, viz." It is a general proposition to be followed by specific application; cf. Phaedr. 237 B *περὶ πάντος δὲ παῖ μία ἀρχὴ.*

91 C *παρὰ τὴν ὥραν.* Is there any authority for rendering *παρὰ* "beyond" here? I think we must render, with Schneider, per magnam maturae aetatis partem; or, with Martin, "malgré la saison venue"; cf. *παρὰ καιρόν.*

92 A *οἱ μεταπλάττοντες . . . δίκην.* This is the doctrine of the *ράστώνη ἐπιμελείας θεοῖς τῶν πάντων* (*Laws* 903 E *εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ θλον δεῖ βλέπων πλάττοι τις μετασχηματίζων τὰ πάντα*), whereby soul always seeks its own level (cf. 904 E).

92 C *εἰκὼν τοῦ ποιητοῦ.* This reading had already been admitted to the text by the Firmin Didot edition. Epinomis 984 A might be quoted in its favor. I do not think it right, but it is useless to argue the question further. As Mr. Archer-Hind says: "The word *ποιητοῦ* must necessarily be unintelligible to any student of the dialogue who had not arrived at some such conclusion about the nature of the *δημονύγος* as that which I have done my best to defend."

PAUL SHOREY.

IV.—THE RELATION OF ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ TO NOMOI AT ATHENS IN THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CEN- TURIES B. C.

If we are to believe Aristotle, there existed between νόμοι and ψηφίσματα an essential logical distinction, the distinction, namely, between the universal and the particular, the abstract and the concrete. A νόμος was a law of general application; a ψήφισμα was a decree for an individual case. Or, to quote his own words, ὁ νόμος καθόλου πᾶς (Eth. V 14); οὐδὲν ἐνδέχεται ψήφισμα εἶναι καθόλου (Pol. IV 4). The language of the pseudo-Platonic Definitions is similar, and may, for present purposes, be allowed to pass as substantially identical in purport: νόμος δόγμα πλήθους πολιτικὸν οὐκ εἴς τινα χρόνον ἀφωρισμένον· ψήφισμα δόγμα πολιτικὸν εἴς τινα χρόνον ἀφωρισμένον. That the first half of this, antithesis, in whichever way worded, is on the whole true, admits of no dispute. In spite of νόμοι ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ, we may say that the word νόμος, unlike *lex*, generally implied universality and intended permanence. The case stands otherwise with the second half of the antithesis. As a general definition of ψήφισμα it will not do at all. Thus, not to go outside of Attika for illustrations, the ψηφίσματα of Attic tribes, phratries, demes, and non-political corporations must needs often be general and permanent regulations.¹ However, Aristotle's statement is not to be judged from the lexicographer's point of view. The context of the sentence quoted above from the Politics shows that the writer is there thinking, not of subordinate bodies, but of a sovereign state. Presumably he had his eye especially upon Athens. Here there were, at least in his time, two organs of legislation, the Nomothetae and the Ekklesia, and although etymologically the name ψηφίσματα was applicable to the enactments of both bodies, usage had restricted it to those of the latter. The proper point of view, then, from which to judge Aristotle's statement is that of Athenian constitutional law. The question is, Was the Ekklesia, according to the theory of the Athenian constitution, incompetent to enact general laws? Modern writers on Greek political antiquities,

¹ E. g. CIA II 564 (lines 6-11); 841b (lines 26 ff.), with its continuation in the *'Αρχαιολ. Δελτίον*, 1888, pp. 161-3; 570 (lines 11 ff.); 624 (lines 1-20).

influenced, no doubt, directly or indirectly, by Aristotle's great name, take the affirmative answer for granted, at most admitting a cautious qualification or two.¹ But the subject deserves a new and unprejudiced examination.

Before proceeding to the evidence, it is worth while to remember that the distinction of abstract and concrete is not always broad and unmistakable. The two classes shade into one another, and a merely verbal change may transform a proposition from the one to the other. Which is then *a priori* more likely, that the illogical populace who framed and worked the Athenian constitution should have made a corner-stone of such a distinction, or that Aristotle should have been guilty of an unwarrantably sweeping generalization?

But let us look at the facts. And here it is important to distinguish between the periods before and after the archonship of Eukleides.

² In the pre-Euklidean period, then, we find in the first place that in dealing with an allied or subject state the Ekklesia might assume, as well as impose, permanent obligations. The terms made with conquered Chalkis³ afford an instance in point. Again, in the conduct of internal affairs, it fell to the Ekklesia to define the classes of persons entitled to entertainment in the Prytaneum,⁴ to impose a permanent tax for the benefit of the temple of Demeter and Kora at Eleusis,⁵ to prescribe the mode of election and the duties of a new board of financial officers,⁶ or to enact rules for the celebration of festivals.⁷ These may be called administrative measures. But we have law in the narrowest sense of the term in the psephism of Isotimides,⁸ εἰργεσθαι τῶν ιερῶν τοὺς ἀσεβήσαντας καὶ δημολογήσαντας, in that of Alkibiades⁹ relative to παράσιτοι, and in that of Kannonus,¹⁰ defining the mode of trial and the punishment for the crime of "wronging the people." Nay more. The great constitutional changes of the fifth century were carried, so far as

¹ Cf. Busolt in the Handb. d. kl. Alt. IV, p. 124.

² For several references in this paragraph and the next, acknowledgment is due to Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, pp. 47-56.

³ CIA IV 27a.

⁴ Ibid. I 8.

⁵ Ibid. IV 27b.

⁶ Ibid. I 32.

⁷ Εφημ. ἀρχ. 1883, 167 ff.; Plut. Per. XIII 5.

⁸ Andok. I 71.

⁹ Polemo in Athenaeus VI 26. Schoemann (De Comit. Ath. p. 249) did not believe that this was a decree of the Ekklesia.

¹⁰ If the psephism of Diopeithes (Plut. Per. XXXII 1), εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τὸν τὰ θεῖα μὴ νομίζοντας ή λόγον περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας, was intended to be of permanent application, it would be another case in point.

we can see, through the Ekklesia. This was the case, if we may trust Plutarch,¹ who probably gets his information from Krateros' συναγωγὴ ψηφισμάτων, with the removal in 478 of the property qualification for the archonship. At any rate, in 411 the ξυγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες reported to the Ekklesia,² which no doubt formally ratified their proposals. And a little later the Ekklesia took a decisive part both in settling the principles of the transitory compromise constitution,³ and in putting the restored democracy on a lasting basis.⁴ Thus we find this body, sometimes with,⁵ sometimes without the assistance of a special committee, enacting general ψηφίσματα on all sorts of subjects. Nor is there a shadow of reason for supposing that, in so doing, it was exceeding its constitutional powers. Furthermore, although the name νόμοι was appropriated especially to fundamental laws of immemorial date, these general psephisms might be called νόμοι also. The ψηφισματοπώλης of Aristophanes⁶ sells νόμοι. The psephism of Kannonos is called a νόμος by Xenophon, in the speech which he puts into the mouth of Euryptolemos.⁷ And when the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία⁸ includes νόμων θέσις among the duties of the Senate, it accords best with what we know from other sources of the legislative methods at Athens in the fifth century, to understand here the preparation of προβουλεύματα for submission to the Ekklesia.

In view of all this evidence, two conjectures may be hazarded: first, that in the period under consideration Athens had no organ of legislation except the Ekklesia (the Senate having, at most, as in the post-Euklidean period, a narrow independent competence); and second, that there was no constitutional hindrance to general legislation by the Ekklesia, nor even to the repeal of existing laws, the only constitutional (as distinct from moral or sentimental)

¹ Arist. XXII 1.

² Thuk. VIII 67.

³ Ibid. 97.

⁴ Dem. ag. Leptines 159; Lyk. 125, 127; Andok. I 96-98.

⁵ No distinction has been made above between συγγραφαῖ, or bills prepared by special committees, and other psephisms. Foucart (Bull. de Corr. Hell. 1880, p. 248) calls the συγγραφαῖ "une catégorie de mesures législatives . . . qui est distincte des lois et des décrets." Similarly Dittenberger (Sylloge Inscr. Graec. 13, 1): "medium quodammodo inter νόμους et ψηφίσματα." But the συγγραφεῖ were not empowered to take final action. The measures they proposed had to pass the Ekklesia like any others, and this implies that the Ekklesia, in theory at least, reserved the right to reject such measures, if it chose; so that, in discussing the powers of the Ekklesia, there is no ground for considering the συγγραφαῖ as a class apart. Cf. Foucart, op. cit. pp. 252-3.

⁶ Birds 1035 ff.

⁷ Hell. I 7, 23.

⁸ Ibid. 3, 2.

restriction being that the moving a psephism in conflict with an unrepealed law exposed the offender to a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. In short, the Ekklesiasts were literally, in Antiphon's phrase,¹ *κύριοι πάσης τῆς πολιτείας*.

If the foregoing hypotheses be sound, then the permanent institution of the Nomothesia in the archonship of Eukleides was an innovation of cardinal significance. By it the Ekklesia was deprived of its sovereign character and became, to speak in modern terms, subject to a written constitution. It is not impossible that at a later period the Nomothetae became degraded into mere instruments for recording the will of the general assembly. The decree CIA II 115b, in which the Nomothetae are instructed under penalties to enact the supplementary legislation necessary for carrying the vote of the Ekklesia into effect, may mark the beginning of this process. If and in so far as such degradation took place, it virtually restored the Ekklesia to its pre-Euklidean prerogatives. But for at least half a century, as we know from the orations of Demosthenes, *Kατὰ Τυποκάρδους* and *Πρὸς Λεπτίνην*, the Nomothetae were in theory, and probably in practice, a truly sovereign body. The Ekklesia might prevent, but could not force, the repeal of an old law or the passage of a new one. It is interesting to compare this with the institutions of the United States. There the people amend the constitution, and the legislature is a committee of the people; in Athens the people were the ordinary legislature, and the constitution was amended by a committee of the people. But, from the point of view of constitutional law, the resemblance is deeper than the difference. In fact, the resemblance goes farther than has yet been indicated; for the subjection of the Ekklesia to the *νόμοι* had for its corollary that unconstitutional psephisms were liable to review and practical annulment by a dikastery.

Yet even in this period the Ekklesia was not inhibited from enacting general decrees, provided they did not conflict with existing laws. In the department of foreign affairs, into which the *νόμοι* did not intrude, this is a matter of course; CIA II 17 is a classic instance in point, and there are others in plenty. And in internal affairs we find the Ekklesia issuing a police order against the dumping of rubbish in the agora and streets of the Peiraeus,² regulating the celebration of the Panathenaea,³ and legislating in

¹ Tetr. B, a, 1.

² Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscr. Graec. 337, lines 35-45.

³ CIA II 163.

regard to trespass on sacred precincts.¹ Again, it is hard to resist the inference that the psephism *περὶ εὐσέβειας*, appealed to by Lykurgus² to clinch his case against Leokrates, was of the nature of a general law. These instances belong, it is true, to the period for which it was above suggested as possible that the Nomothetae had lost or were losing their sovereign prerogatives. If one should choose to suppose that the first and second of the measures just cited were formally ratified by the Nomothetae, it would be hard to disprove it, though there is nothing in the record to favor the supposition. And at any rate the others were obviously not so ratified, or they would have been called *νόμοι* outright. Moreover, it is significant that we never hear of a complaint, much less of a γραφὴ παρανόμων, based upon a psephism's being of general application. Aristotle³ does indeed censure the degenerate democracy for encroaching in its psephisms on the province of the laws, but says explicitly, what we have seen to be false, that a psephism cannot be general law. That the law of Leptines was passed by the Ekklesia is anything but clear, in spite of the sweeping language of Demosthenes.⁴ And in any case, the orator attacks the measure on the ground, not of its generality, but of its unconstitutionality; while his often-quoted words, *ψηφισμάτων οὐδὲ διαιρέουντιν οἱ νόμοι*,⁵ refer, as the context shows, to the frequency with which new laws were enacted, and not to the mode of their enactment. But as it was difficult to pass a general psephism without coming into conflict with existing laws, the proper consequence would be that such psephisms would be few and far between. This was actually the case, so far as our records go to show. No doubt the Athenian constitution was a most unstable structure. But the picture which it has been the fashion with modern authorities to draw, of the Ekklesia unconstitutionally arrogating to itself the function of general legislation, to the exclusion of the Nomothetae, does not seem to have any good basis of evidence.

FRANK B. TARBELL.

¹ See CIA II 841, lines 7-18. This may belong, according to Köhler, to a period a little later than the end of the fourth century. Other third century examples are afforded by CIA II 352b, and the inscription given in the 'Αρχαιολ. Δελτίον, 1888, pp. 187-8.

² Lyk. 146. Cf. further the psephism regulating the distribution of the theoric fund: Dem. XLIV 38.

³ Pol. IV 4.

⁴ Dem. Lept. 94.

⁵ Ibid. 92.

NOTES.

ON A PASSAGE IN THE TRINUMMUS.

Dei dívites sunt, deós decent opuléntiae
Et fáctiones; vérum nos homúnculi
Vatíllum animai; quam quom extempo emísimus
Aequó mendicus átque ille opulentíssimus
Censétur censu ad Áccheruntem mórtuos.

(Plaut. Trin. 490-495.)

In view of the many emendations proposed for this passage, I beg leave to submit the following conjecture, namely, *vitella* or *vitellula*, a substitute for the initial word in line 492. These words, diminutives of *vita*, present several possible readings, and these I shall endeavor to defend after a brief review of the diminutives.

Diminutives of the second or third order may be formed from substantives of the first or second declension that have already become diminutives by the addition of the suffixes *-la* and *-lus* with the connecting vowel *u*. (Vid. Kühner, Ausf. Gramm. I, §223§ & η.) *Vita* would thus pass through the following stages: 1 *vita*, 2 *vitula*, 3 *vitella*, 4 *vitellula*, just as 1 *cista*, 2 *cistula* (Amph. 420), 3 *cistella* (Rud. 1109), 4 *cistellula* (Rud. 391). Hence there seems no objection to the formation of the words.

It is needless to speak of the emendations already proposed, as this may be found in the last Ritschl edition (Schöll, 1884), *Appendix critica l. c.* The manuscripts offer, A *satillum*, (B, C, D, Z) *sal illum* or *sal illu*, whence Loewe has conjectured *Vatillum* (*Batillum*), and (F) *tantillum*. These words bear a strong resemblance to one another, and confusion is easy. Assuming *vitellam* to have been the original, it is an easy step to *vatillum*, thence to the errors of *sal illum*, *satillum*, seeing that *vitella* would be *āπ. λεγ.*, while *vatillum* is elsewhere accredited. Here the confusion is among letters greatly similar, and one readily made by a copyist in transcription. I am, therefore, inclined to think *vitella* may have been the original reading. These words give us an intelligent reading, which is somewhat obscure with the other conjectures save that of Fritsche, *scintilla*, or *scintillula*, adopted

by Brix, which is, however, '*longius a fide memoriae.*' The readings will now be taken up separately.

1.

Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitéllam et animam quí quom extempro emísimus.

The punctuation is changed from that found in the Ritschl edition, and the two words *Vitellam et animam* drawn into the relative clause. The deviations from the manuscript are slight, namely, *lanimam* for *anima* or *anime*, and the insertion of *et*. The redundancy causes no objection, as Plautus frequently uses synonyms, with or without connecting particles (vid. Lorenz, Einl. Pseud. p. 43, Anm. 40, and Brix, Trin. 302).

2.

Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitéllulam animam quí quom extempro emísimus.

Here the diminutive of the third order is used, and the substantives placed asyndetically.

3.

Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitéllulae animam quí quom extempro emísimus.

The diminutive of the third order is again used, and *anima* in the signification *breath*.

4.

Vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitéllulam animae quí quom extempro emísimus.

And lastly, *anima* of the manuscripts may be retained, *vítellula* assuming the transferred sense of *vita=victus*, a peculiarly Plautine use of the word.

All the above readings avoid the hiatus, and seem to adhere to Plautine usage. The translation is relieved of heaviness and obscurity, and rendered easy and intelligent. The omission of *sumus* may be justified by the strong contrast the verse bears to *Dei divites sunt*, whence it may be easily supplied (vid. Brix, Trin. 535, and Anhang to this passage).

I should then propose the following reading:

Dei dívites sunt, deós decent opuléntiae
Et fáctiones; vérum nos homúnculi,
Vitéllam et animam quí quom extempro emísimus
Aequó mendicus átque ille opulentíssimus
Censétur censu ad Áccheruntem mortuos.

CHAS. W. BAIN.

ON AVESTA *f*—ORIGINAL *pv*.

It is generally accepted that in the word Av. *āfəntəm* ‘aquosum,’ *āfəntō* ‘aquosi,’ the *f* is sprung from orig. *pv*—that Av. *āfənt-* stands for orig. **āpvant-*. (So Justi, Handbuch der Zendsprache s. v. compares Skt. *āpavant-*, see PWb. s. v. on the *a* between *p* and *v*, also Justi, p. 362, §57; see especially Bartholomae, Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte, §89b; Brugmann, Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik, §473, §159.) No other example for the rule seems to have been given; see Bartholomae, loc. cit.; but Justi, §57 *kaofa-* and *sifat*. Two instances, however, may perhaps now be suggested as falling under this head; these will support the law, and the forms themselves will thus be clearly explained.

The first instance to be added is in Ys. 57. 29 *āfənte*. The form is 3 pl. pres. mid. (pass.) from ✓ *āp-*, *ap-* ‘to attain’ according to the (Skt.) VIIIth Conjugation, i. e. **āp-vantē*; cf. Av. *kərənvante*. —Ys. 57. 29 will thus be rendered: ‘Who (i. e. the horses of Sraosha) overtake all those whom they pursue from behind, but they themselves are never overtaken from behind.’

The second suggestion is from Ys. 57. 17 to consider the adjective *hušvafa* ‘slumbering’ nom. sg. = orig. **sušvapvan-* or **sušvapvant-* (✓ *svap-* ‘to sleep’) according as *van-* or *vant-* stem. The Av. *hu-* (*su-*) looks like the prefix *su-* ‘well,’ but as Professor Geldner kindly writes me, it may also be a reduplication (cf. Skt. pf. *sušvāpa*) as *ci-* in Skt. *cikitván-* ‘wise’ (also adjective). The form nom. sg. *hušvafa* is like *ašava* if from *van-* stem, or like *raēva*, *amava*, etc., if from *vant-* stem.

The law of phonetic change in Av. may be regularly explained thus: the *v* must have had its voiceless spirant value (Germ. *v*, Eng. *f*) and spirantized the preceding *p*, cf. Av. *tv* (*v*- vocalic) beside Av. *pv* (*v*- spirant). The combination *fv* (*fw* voiceless = phonetically *ff*) was no longer tolerated, but according to the regular Av. law, avoiding the repetition of the same sound, was reduced to *f*. Hence orig. *pv* = Av. **fv* (*fw* voiceless = phonetically *ff*) = *f*.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

F. W. SCHMIDT. Kritische Studien zu den griechischen Dramatikern. Nebst einem Anhang zur Kritik der Anthologie. 2 Bde. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886.

Among the many books that have loaded the editor's table for months and mutely appealed for some notice, none makes stronger demand for sympathy than Prof. F. W. Schmidt's 'Kritische Studien zu den griechischen Dramatikern.' In these two volumes we have the results of a long life of patient study and devotion, and even if, as must needs be the case, a large proportion of the emendations proposed cannot hope for the heaven of the conjectural critic, incorporation into the text, still the erudition and acumen with which the emendations are commended make the work one of great interest and usefulness, and young students may learn much from the way in which the peccant verses are handled. To discuss these hundreds of conjectures is, of course, out of the question—the space at the command of the Journal is too limited—but it was thought that a simple registration of the changes made in those plays that are most frequently read in American schools and colleges might be of service to teachers and scholars, and might be considered as a tribute of respect to the veteran critic. But it has turned out that in the course of registration sundry observations have forced themselves on the writer, and the notice has grown insensibly into its present bulk. It is hoped, however, that the objections raised here and there will not seem to imply similar dissent all through—and yet it would be a want of candor to say that the results of this prodigious labor commend themselves to any considerable degree as successes. To be a success an emendation must fill the mind of a student with perfect peace, and many, I venture to say most, of Professor Schmidt's emendations irritate rather than soothe. Nay, if found in the text, some of his favorites would have been counted as thorns, not roses. An emendation that needs a highly artificial translation, such as the one to be cited on Aischyl. Ag. 663, is self-condemned; and while in So. O. R. 370: *τὰ πάντα* might not have been turned out of the text if found in the MSS, why foist it in despite the excellent tradition, to the weakening of the *παρήχθους* and the effacement of the tumultuous passion that marks the hasty utterance of Oidipus? The surprise of *τά τ' ὥτα* is part of the dramaturgy. But we will not anticipate.

AISCHYLOS, P. V. 2 read Σκίθην ἀκή μον'. 27 οὐ πέρικέ σοι. 292 μεῖζον ἀν ὥραν (Burges, νείμαιμ' η σοῦ). 442 τάδε βροτοῖς δωρήματα. 1031 ἀλλ' ἐκ καρδίας εἰρημένος.

Sept. 244 θοῦρος γὰρ Ἀρης. 308 ῥευμάτων for πωμάτων. 590 οὐκ δύκω νέμων for εἰκυκλῶν νέμων of the second hand. (Verrall says that νέμων has no meaning, in other words, denies that it can be used as νωμῶν). 811 ισθ' ὡς ἀδελφαῖς χερσὶν ἴναιροντ' ἀμα. | οὐτως ὁ δαιμων κοινὸς ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἀρα. 1009 ἐν πάλῃ (anticipated by Stadtmüller). 1025 ὥδε for τῷδε (with a valuable list of parallels).

Ag. 97 καὶ θέμις εἰ πεῖν. 327-8 τάλανες κασιγνήτων τε κτέ. | ἀνδρῶν τεκόντων τ' οὐκέτ' κτέ., τεκών and γέρων being elsewhere confounded; 360 τάχα δειλαίας for μέγα δουλείας. 418 δωμάτων ἐν ἐρημίαις. 492 τὸ νύχον for τόδι ἔλθον. 515 θεῶν for φίλον. 520 φαιδροῖσιν δμασον τὰ νῦν. 549 σκληρὰς δ' ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἐτλης τύχας. 615-16 αὐτῇ μὲν εἰποῦσ' εἰρπε μανθάνοντί σοι | τορόν τιν' ἐρμηνεύσι δὴ τοροῖς λόγον. 617 τῆς στολῆς κοινὸν κράτος. 626 πότερον ἀναχθεὶς ἡλθε μόνος ἐξ Ιλίου, | ἡ χεῖμ' ἐκεῖνον ἄλλοσ' ἥρπασ' ἐκ στρατοῦ; 635 ἐλθεῖν τε λυπήσαι τε κτέ. 663 ὅστις ἐστὶ δὴ θεῶν (d. h. wer den Göttern zugethan ist) for χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν. 640 πόλει μὲν ἐλκος ἡ δὲ πολεμίαν τὸν χῆν. 674 Μενέλεω γ' ἐμοὶ | πρῶτον τε καὶ μάλιστά τοι δόκει μέλειν. 676 εἰσορᾶ for ἰστορεῖ. 846 ἐμμενεῖ οτ αὐτονεῖ. 854 τύχη for νίκη. 859 δεῖξω βίον for λέξω β., a common confusion. 886 δόλον τρέφει for δ. φέρει. 912 σὸν θεοῖς εἰς ἡμερα. 961 δύκος with Ty. Mommsen, but 962 ἡμῖν for ἔχειν. 899 θερμαίνεις δόμον for σημαίνεις μολὼν. 1003 ἐπέλγει for ἐρείδει. 1046 σχήσεις παρ' ἡμῶν. 1048-9 ἐντὸς δ' ἄλιον σα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων | πειθοῦ ἀν, ἡ πάθοις γ' ἀπειθοῦσ' ἀν κακῶς, to the effacement of one of Hermann's pet lines (A. J. P. VI 487), and in the teeth of the echoing verse 1393 χαίροιτ' ἀν, εἰ χαίροιτ' which S. ends thus: ἔγὼ μέγ' ἥδομαι (comp. also So. O. R. 936). 1052 εἰσω φρενῶν ἀν οὐσα πείθοι' ἀν λόγῳ. 1124 τελεῖ οτ πελῷ. 1129 στέγαν for τύχαν. 1133 κακῶν γὰρ δνῶν. 1200 γονῆ for πόλιν. 1256 νέψ τὸ πῦρ μ' ἐπέρχεται μέν ει. 1285 τί δῆτα δ' οὐσ' ἐπακτὸς ὠδ' ἀναστένω; 1290 ιθ', οὐ στενάξω· τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν οτ ιοῦσ' ἀρ' εἰσω κτέ. 1430 καν τήνθ' ἀκούοις. 1497 μηδεὶς λέξη δ' | Ἀγαμεμνονίαν καίνειν ἀλοχον. 1546 μελέων (anticipated by Wecklein) αἰκός. 1605 ἑρνος for ἐπὶ δέκ'. 1630 πάντα τοι. 1654 ἀ μὰ γὰρ τάδ' ἔξαμησαι πρότερα διστηρον θέρος. 1659 εἰ δ' ἀκος μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἀλις πεπληγμένοι | δαιμονος χολῆ βαρεία δυσμενοῦς, δε χοιμεθ' ἀν. 1669 παῖς, ἀγάλλον δὴ μαίνων τὴν δίκην, ἔταις γ' ἀρά. 1670 ισθι μοι δώσων ἀπονα τῆσδ' ἐπηρείας, γέρον.

SOPHOKLES, Ai. 65 ἄγραν ἀγων (ἀγω and ἔχω being often confounded); 270 οὐ κάτοιδα σοὺς λόγοντος. 461 προδοός (anticipated by Mekler) τ' Ἀτρεΐδας. 523 οὐκ ἀν πέλοι τοιοῦτος for οὐκ ἀν γένοιτ' ιθ' οὐτος (see A. J. P. III 491, where this verse is discussed). 781-2 transpose πέμπει and Τεῦκρος. 784 δύσμορ' ἐμπέδως. 923 οἷος ὁν σύ γ' ὁς ἔχεις. 988-9 ιθ' ἐγκένει, σύγκαμν' ιτ' ὄρφανοισι τοι | φίλοντον ἀνδρες δυσμενεῖς ἐπεγγελάν (θανοῦσι and κειμένους of the text displaced are no more tautological than Eur. famous τέθνασιν οι θανόντες). 1054 δῆτ' ιτ' οτ πηροῦντες for ζητοῦντες, which, acc. to Schmidt, cannot mean ἔξετάζοντες. 1111 στόλον πολλοὶ λεψ. 1195 ἐτείξεν for ἐδειξεν. 1307 φέγων for λέγων, with Erfurdt, a common confusion as between φέγος and λέγος. 1324 ἡκοντεν ἐχθρά.

O. R. 140 κάμ' ἀν τοιαντη χειρὶ ποτ' ἐναίρειν θέλοι. 273 Καδμείοις θ' δσοις. 284-5 ἀνακτι Φοίβῳ κτέ | μάλιστα φωρᾶν κτέ. 296 φ' μὴ ἐστι δρᾶν τι. 360 ἡ ἐτέρᾳ λέγω; cf. Ar. Ran. 64 ἡ ἐτέρᾳ φράσω; 370 τὰ πάντα for τὰ τ' ὡτα. 374 διαστρέφῃ (for μᾶς τρέφῃ) πρὸς νυκτός, an emendation which suggests Ar. Eq. 175 ενδαιμονήσω δ' εἰ διαστραφήσομαι. As Teiresias was blind, the literal meaning lies too near, and could anything be more Sophoklean than τρέφῃ? 389 εν μὲν δέδορκε. 420 foll. S. rewrites thus βοῆς δὲ σῆς τίς οὐκ ἀκούσεται μέλη οτ βοῆς τε τῆς σῆς τοῦ ποτ' οὐκ ἐσται μέλη, and then with greater confidence ποιοις Κιθαιρῶν οὐχὶ σύμφωνος γόσις, | θταν καταίσθη τὸν ὑμέναιον, δν

πάλαι | ἀνορμον εἰσέπλευσας, εἴπλοιας τυχῶν; Whereon it may be remarked that the language of Teiresias is designedly obscure, and to flatten out such a passage is not to emend it. The λυμήν of v. 420 is a fearful foreshadowing of v. 1208, φύγας λυμήν, and the figure, if dark to Oidipus, was plain enough to the audience. Every one who has read the Thesmophoriazusai knows how Aristophanes rings the changes on the 'port' idea (cf. δεῦρ' ἐσπλέων, v. 1106, with O. R. 424 εἰσέπλευσας), and the same figure is used of the other sex, as is shown by Theogn. 459-60 οὐν ἀγκυραὶ ἔχονταν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ | πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λυμένα. Whatever else is changed, λυμήν is not to be changed. 424 λαχῶν for ἄλλων. 440-41 οὐν τοιαῦτ' ἀριστος εὐρίσκειν ἔφης; | σὺ ταῦτ' ὀνειδίζεις, αἱ μ' ἡρε καὶ μέγαν, by which we lose the angry retort in εὐρίσκεις which we want, and gain a lame καὶ which we can dispense with. 445-6 ὡς παρῶν με δυ στομῶν | ὀχλεῖς, συθεῖς τ' ἀν οὐκ ἀλγήνοις λέγων. 495 ἐπίσαμον. 597 ἀρχῆς δ' ἑκείνη ταῦτ' ἔχεις ισον νέμων; 'beherrschest du aber dies Land (ταῦτ' ἔχεις) mit jener die Herrschaft teilend?' 594 οὐ γάρ τοσοῦτον. 598 ὡν γάρ τυχεῖν ἐρῶσι, πάντ' ἐν τῷδ' ἐνι. 600 οὐ τὰν ἐγένετο νοῦς ἐμὸς καλῶς φρονῶν. 608 δῆλον δ' ἐλέγχον μή με χωρὶς αἰτιῶ. 635 νεικοῦντες, although, as S. himself notes, the verb is not used in tragic poetry. 676 σοὶ μὲν δοκῶν ἀλλοῖος, ἐν δὲ τοισδέ ισος. 682 δάκνει δ' ἀγαν τὸ μὴ ἐνδικον. 708-9 οὐνεκ' ἔστι τοι | βρότειον οὐδὲν μαντικὴν ἔχον τέ χνην. 715 ξενοκτόνοι 'professional murderers'. 718 ἔρριψι διπαδῶν. 724 ἔχῃ μέρμυναν. 750 ἔχώρησι οἷος. 792 γεννήσουμ' for δηλώσουμ'. 930 ναιοῖς for γένοι'. 936 ἥδοιτό γ' ἀν, πᾶς δ' οὐχ, αἱ μ' ἀσχάλλοι δ' ισως. 1013 ἐστὶ δῆ φοβοῦν. 1031 ἐσχάτοις δυτ' ἐν κακοῖς. 1050 ἐσθ' εὐρεῖν τάδε. The objection made is to the passive inf. εὐρῆσθαι. Untaught by Wecklein and Schmidt, one would have considered the common text a beautiful example of the force of the perf. inf., and one might have thought that the pass. form was not only more common as a representative of the pass. imperative, but more delicate in the circumstances. See Rehdantz, Indices, s. v. Infin., where there are many passive examples, and add Isok. 5, 103 πάντων γ' ἀν εἰη σχετλώτατος εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο καταλελύθαι ταῦτη τὴν ἀρχήν. Oidipus says in effect εὐρῆσθαι τάδε. 1073 λόσσης for λίπης; 1084-5 τοισδε δ' ἐκρής οὐκ ἀν ἐξέλθουμι τις | ἀνθρωπος, οὐν' στι μὴ ἐκμαθεῖν λέγον γένοις. S. does not translate this 'untadelhaften Gedanken,' nor does he observe that it admits of more than one rendering. Perhaps that gives a Sophoclean charm to the passage. 1137 πάροιθεν γίμεν ἐς for κάτοιδεν, γήμος τὸν κτέ. | δὲ μὲν κτέ. | καὶ πλησίαζον κτέ. 1156 τένδ' εἰ δέδωκας παῖδ' δὲν οὐτος ιστορεῖ. 1671 ἐκ δωμάτων for γεννημάτων. 1267 δεινὰ μὴν τάνθενδ' ὄραν. 1284 ἐσχάτων for αἰσχύνη is suggested but immediately taken back. 1286 ῥοπῇ for σχαλῇ. 1291 μενῶν, λέγοις ἀραιος οὐδε ἡράσατο. 1292 πάντως δ' ἀρωγῆς κτέ. 1400 αἱ πατρὸς αἴμα κτέ. | ἐπίετ' ἐρε μνόν, to the utter destruction of the passion of the original, which is perfectly explained by Jebb, αἱ τούμδον αἴμα τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν ἀπο | ἐπίετε πατρός. It is a characteristic of Oidipus that he speaks too fast even in quiet passages, how much more natural is the epanorthosis πατρός here! 1512 ἐν δὲ τοῦτ' εὐχος φανῶ | οὐ χάρις ἀν γ' ζῆν, with the translation 'hoc tamen unum votum expromam, ut ubique libeat (votis vivere) vos vivatis.' 1518 δοκου for ἀποικον. 1523 οὐ σοὶ γ' ὅλβι φ.

Ant. 183 οὐδαμοῦ νέμω. 390 σχολὴ ποθ' ἡξειν δεῦρ', ἀναξ, ηὔχοντι ἐγώ. 517 οὐ γάρ τριδον λόγοις ἀλλ' ἀδελφὸς ὀλετο. 700 ἀρ' ἡμῖν for ἐρεμνή. 788 ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων. 855 τάλαν for πολύν (La.). 1183 ἀνδρες γερασοι for ὁ πάντες ἀστοι.

EURIPIDES. Here we must definitely limit ourselves to two plays.

Alc. 83 ἀεὶ for ἐμοί. 180 ὅλην for μόνην. 223 τόνδ' ἐφρούρεις. 225 ἀπότρεψον or ἀπωσον for ἀπόπαυσον. 231 ἐτ' ὅφει for ἐπόφει, which would infallibly have been put back if ἐτ' ὅφει were in the text. This conjecture is, in spite of the respected critic's protest, 'eine blosse Spielerei'. 274 κάλγυν for καὶ παντός. 278 ἔχομεν or τοιμάν for ἔσμέν. 228 πόλλ' for δῷρ'. 304 διαδέχοις for δεσπότας. 313 πῶς κορευθῆσθαι καλῶς, ἐτέρας τάχ' οὐσης; 328 ἀλοχον for εἰχον. 356 κάρτ' ἐστὶ λενοσειν. 360 καὶ τὴδον ἀν (with Weidner), the aor. κατῆλθον not being tenable. So 362 εἰργον for ἐσχον. Nauck has in the former passage κατῆαι, in the latter εἰχον. But the aorist with ἀν can be opposed to an aoristic present as well as to an aoristic past, and Nauck's canon would force us to change many passages or to conceive them unnaturally. To the examples in Kühner, II 974, add Eur. I. A. 1211 sqq., Philem. fr. 129 (4, 48 Mein.), Dem. 18, 76, where εἰ γὰρ εἰχεις (=οὐκ ἔχεις, not =οὐκ εἰχεις). Isok. 13, 4 εἰ . . . ἐπώλων (=οὐ πωλοῦσι, not =οὐκ ἐπώλουν), οὐκ ἀν ἡμφισβήτησαν. In Thuc. 2, 62, ι ἐχρησάσην may be explained by ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις, but it is not necessary to resort to zeugma. 365-6 are to be omitted as an interpolation, and 367 we are to read καὶ νερτέρουσι. 423 μέλποντες for μένοντες. 459 νερτέρα σε. 481 στόλον for πόνον. 495 δόρπον for χόρτον. 526 οἴκτον for εἰς τόδ'. Wakefield's εἰς τότε, 'when the time comes,' seems to satisfy the conditions in spite of Dr. Schmidt. 530 λελείμμεθα for μεμνήμεθα. 533 ἀμοῖς for ἄλλως. 539 μ' ἔρδοις for ἔλθοι. 540 η δόμους or ἀν μόδου for εἰ μόδοι, which it is not the least necessary to disturb. If one must have an explanation of the conditional form, it is given in the preceding verse, μὴ τοσόνδ' ἔλθοι κακόν. εἰ μόδοι suggests, in conformity with the origin of the optative condition, μὴ μόδοι. See A. J. P. III 436. 543 οὐ σε δαισουεν for οἱ σ' ἐσάρξουεν. 565 καὶ τῷ μὲν οἷμα κτέ. 574 νομοῖς for δόμοις. 617 δυσπετῇ for δυσμενῇ. 648 καὶ πατέρα πανδίκως ἀν ἡγοίμην ὁ μοῦ. 666 οὐ δ' ἐμοῦ τυχῶν κτέ. 667 μέλω for λέγω. 669-72 μάτην—βαρή are obelized; 673-4 παῖσαι κτέ. | λώβαις for ὡ παῖ κτέ. 687-8 πόλεως μὲν ἀρχάς, πολυπλέθρον δὲ καὶ γνάς. | λήψῃ δὲ πατρὸς ἀπέρ εἴδεξάμην πάρα. 690 to be put after 691 (χαίρεις ὄρῶν φῶς κτέ.) 713 μάσσον' for μειζον'. 720 μνήστεν' ἐτ' ἀλλας ορ μν. πλείονες. 724 οὐκ ὁ ν γε λᾶς γε, τόνδε βαστάζων νεκρόν; 728 τήνδε δ' ἥρης ἀφρονα for τήνδ' ἐφρούρες ἀφρονα, in which the asyndeton and the compound are both better than what S. gives us. 792 πάντα for ταῦτα. 808 ὁ τῶν for τάλαν. 812 σύνοικον for τιν' οὐσαν. 814 τῷ δ' οὐ θυραιών πημάτων ἄρ' ην διτλοὶς ορ δ δ' οὐ θυραιών π. ἀλγεῖ πότεροι. The text as it stands reads δδ' οὐ θυραιών πημάτων ἄρχει λόγος. 'This speech opens with no foreign woes.' Cf. Tro. 983 τούνομ' ὄρθως ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς. Every time the servant begins to tell his tale he has something to say that contradicts the statement, 805 γυνὴ θυραιος η θανοῦσα. This recurring ἄρχη forces itself on the hero. 826 κάνεστρεφον for ἄλλης ησθόμην. 827 κουράν τ' ἀχει προσφέρειν νεκρόν for κῆδος εἰς τάφον φέρειν. 844 πεινῶντα for πίνοντα. 857 to be deleted. 866 νεκίνων ἀγαμαι for κείνων ἀραμαι. 906 εἰν τλάς for ἐμπας. 907 ἀχος for ἄλις. 930 σε φίλα for φίλιαν. 1005 φωναι for φάμαι. 1009 στέγειν for ἐχειν. 1045 μή με. μιμησκεις κακόν to be omitted, and 1046 ἀδακρυς είναι, and then with transposition τήνδ' ὁραν ἐν δόμασιν | οὐκ ἀν δυναίμην μὴ νοσοῦντι κτέ. 1055 ἐμβήσας. 1058 συνεννέτων for εἰνεργέτων. 1070 ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ λέγοιμ' ἀν, εν σ' ἐχειν τύχης, | χρὴ δ', δσιος εἰ σύ, καρτερεῖν θεού δόσιν (with an interesting list of ellipses)

of el). 1087 νέοι γάμοι πόθον for Guttentag's νέος γάμος πόθον. 1097 τήνδε γ' ἐνναίειν δόμων. 1125 θέα τις ἐμπαίξει τάχα. 1152 ἀπέρχεσθαι for ἐπέλγεσθαι.

Medea 49 οἰκούρημα for οἰκων κτῆμα. 77 τοῖσδε δὴ παισὶν for τοῖσδε δώμασιν. 143 παραθελγομένη for παραθαλπομένη, with a long list of passages where θέλγειν and θάλπειν are confounded. 182 γὰρ τάδ' for καὶ τάδ'; 240 οἶοις μάλιστα τέρψεται συνενέτης. 301 στυγερός for λυπρός. 319-20 suspected. 325 οὐ γὰρ ἐμὲ πείσεις ποτέ. (We hope nobody will be so cruel as to quote Ar. Plut. 600 οὐ γὰρ πείσεις οὐδὲ ἦν πείσης.) 334 σοῦ πλέον κεκτήμεθα for κοὺ πόνων κεχρήμεθα. 382 φόνους χερὶ δάπτουσα for δόμους ὑπερβαίνοντα. 384-5 are cut down to κράτιστα τλῆναι φαρμάκους αὐτοὺς ἔλειν. 533 μ' ὀνησας. 540 δροις ἐνψκεις. 545 τῶν γε σῶν πόνων πέρι. 606 μὸν ἄλλον σ' ἔνεκα προδοῦσ' ἔγώ. 780 μὴ ἐλᾶν for μεῖναι. 863-4 οὐ τῷξ' ἔμουν γὰρ παῖδ' ἐσόφεται ποτε | ζῶντ' ἐξ τῷ λοιπὸν οὐ δὲ τῆς νεοζήγουν. 955 ἐκ γόνοις ἐμόβς. 1079 νέων for ἐμῶν. 1108 σώματ' ἐξ ἡβῆν δ' ἡλυθε. 1110 δαίων ἐτερος, φροῦδ' εἰς "Αἰδην | θαλερῶν κτέ. | πᾶς ἀν λόν; 1188 λιπαροὶ for λεπτοί. 1291 γένος for λέχος. 1327 ἔτι for τε. 1338 νηλεός for λέχος. 1382 μεῖον for λένε. 1370 οἱ δ' for οἱδ', and again v. 1371. 1374 κυζη for στυγῆ. 1388 τίνων for ιδῶν.

The motto prefixed to the collection is taken from Stob. Flor. XXIX 26, but with a modest emendation. Stobaeus has ἀπανθ' ὁ τοῦ ζητοῦντος εὐρίσκει πόνος. Professor Schmidt reads, with a slight but significant variation, οὐ πάνθ' ὁ τοῦ ζητοῦντος κτέ. Well and good, so long as there is real πόνος and not toying conjecture merely.

B. L. G.

The Sacred Books of the East. Translated by various Oriental scholars and edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. Vol. XXXI. Oxford, 1887.

The Zend-Avesta. Part III. The Yasna, Visparad, Âfrinagân, Gâhs, and Miscellaneous Fragments. Translated by L. H. MILLS.

During the last ten years, active and very successful efforts have been made in the criticism and interpretation of the Old Iranian religious book, the Zend-Avesta, the Bible of the Parsees. The present volume of Mr. Mills is a new and very welcome proof of this fact. It finishes the treatment of the Avesta in the series of the "Sacred Books of the East," ed. by F. Max Müller, thus completing the well known translation of the Vendidad and Yashts by Mr. T. Darmesteter.¹

Dr. Mills, who has now given us the translation of the Yasna, Visparad, Âfrinagân, and Gâhs, was led by his researches into Gnostic philosophy to devote himself to the study of the Avesta, and more particularly of the Gâthâs, for the principal traits of the ancient Zoroastrian faith are most prominent in these hymns, which are not very extensive, but constitute the most ancient part of the Zend-Avesta. Dr. Mills² went to Germany for this purpose, and spent more than ten years in collecting and studying all accessible materials for a translation of the Gâthâs. He has been in communication with almost every Zend scholar of note in Germany, France, England, and India, and has thus become so familiar with the different views of the two opposing schools of

¹ See A. J. P. II 322 foll.

² For a detailed account of Dr. Mills's studies see A. J. P. III 499 foll.

Avesta-interpretation as to be able to judge of the merit of each of them in removing the darkness which still obscures the Avesta, and to be able to profit by both their methods. Being of opinion that it is not sufficient to study the original Zend text, he looked for other means of instruction. We recall the excellent words which Max Müller delivered years ago in his lecture on Veda and Zend-Avesta, with regard to the interpretation of the Avesta : "Not a corner of the Brahmanas, Sutras, in Yaska and Sāyana, ought to be left unexplored ere we risk to give a translation of our own," and Dr. Mills, by applying them to Avestic studies, has acted in the same spirit. He not only made himself acquainted with the Pahlavi and the Parsi translations, but also referred to the Iranian dialects, and especially to the rich and highly developed Neo-Persian language, which is calculated to shed light on points still dark in the grammar and exegesis of the Avesta, since, by a correct application of phonetic laws, many Old Iranian words may be reconstructed from Neo-Persian forms. That the Vedas have been drawn on as a further help for interpretation of the Avesta is a matter of course. Dr. Mills was well aware what excellent services the study of the Vedas has already rendered to Iranian philology, and that it will probably continue to do so in future, and that the Gāthās especially ought to be studied in the light of the Vedas, though he is by no means of opinion that Veda and Avesta are identical. Dr. Mills, moreover, pays due regard to etymology and comparative philology, the value of which for the study of the Avesta has, in fact, never been disputed. But the time is certainly past when it was thought possible to complete a translation of the Avesta, which abounds in new and indisputable revelations, solely by the help of comparative philology, disregarding tradition.

As early as 1885 Dr. Mills printed for private circulation, as a result of his laborious studies, one volume of his edition of the Gāthās which is to come out in two volumes. It was distributed among Orientalists in Germany, France, Belgium, England, and America, and is now well known.

The second volume is to contain a commentary and a glossary, and we are awaiting its publication with the greatest interest. But pending the appearance of this work, which was interrupted by Dr. Mills's engagement to write the present one, we welcome this latter as a highly gratifying event.

In the preface Dr. Mills gives his leading views as a translator of the Gāthās. Then follows a highly instructive introduction, from which we will only point out the author's opinions with regard to Zarathustra, the origin and age of the Avesta and the Pahlavi translation. Zoroaster, according to him, is an historical personage. Parts of the hymns ascribed to him and to his immediate associates may have been interpolated, but the Gāthās as a whole show great unity, and the interpolations are made in the spirit of the original. And that Zoroaster was the name of the individual in which this unity centres we have no sufficient reason to dispute. The scene of the Gāthic and original Zarathustrianism was, according to Dr. Mills's opinion, the north-east of Iran, and the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathustrian tribes were migrating westward in Media. The populations among whom these hymns were composed were made up chiefly of agriculturists and herdsmen; accordingly rapine and raid, affecting them in their interests as such, were regarded as the most terrible of visitations. The religion which

appears in the cuneiform inscriptions on the rocks of Persepolis and Behistun may have been Gâthic Zarathustrianism or something closely related to it, at any rate it was not the religion of the Vendidad. A form of Mazda worship, which had not yet forbidden the burial of the dead, seems to have existed in primeval Iran long before Zarathustrianism, for an important inscription is written on a tomb, and it is very probable that some form of it survived unadulterated by Zarathustrianism. In view of the established age of the oldest Riks, dating from 1500–2000 B. C., the Gâthâs may possibly have been composed as early as about 1500 B. C.; it is also possible to place them as late as 1200–900 B. C., while the fragments in the Gâthic dialect must be considered somewhat later.

The dates of the composition of the several parts of the later Avesta must be supposed, according to Dr. Mills's opinion, to extend over many centuries. He places the later portions of it somewhat earlier than Darius, while he extends the period during which its several parts were composed so far as perhaps to the third and fourth century before Christ, while interpolated passages, or indeed whole Yashts, may be very late.

Very interesting and instructive are the author's utterances concerning the Pahlavi translation and its study. He says (Introd. xxxix–xl): "In rendering the Pahlavi as a necessary prelude to rendering the Avesta, all possible help should of course be sought from the Asiatic translations of the Pahlavi, from those of Neryosangh in Sanscrit, and from the still later ones in Parsi and Persian. Here, again, those who read the Pahlavi only as rendered by Neryosangh need great caution. If Neryosangh is simply read like the classical Sanscrit, great errors will be committed. He needs a glossary of his own, and should be read only in the light of the Pahlavi, which was chiefly his original. So of the Parsi Persian translations, they must be read with especial attention to their originals. After these original translations have been fully mastered, and compared with an improved rendering of the Gâthic, likewise also studied in the full light of the Veda, the patient scholar will be surprised at the result. He will find that, to a certain extensive degree, the two sources of information coincide when reasonably estimated, and, moreover, that where the Pahlavi gives us an indication differing from that derived from the Vedic, the surmise of the Pahlavi is the more often correct. I say 'reasonably estimated,' for not only is the Pahlavi, as a less highly inflected language, incapable of rendering the Avesta literally, but its authors do not uniformly make the attempt to do so; nor do they always follow the order of the Gâthic or Zend. Their translations generally run word for word as to their outward forms, for the ancient interpreters probably regarded such a following as essential to a complete rendering, but they found themselves compelled to resort to the most important exceptions. And, lastly, the rejection or total neglect of the Pahlavi translations and their successors, on the ground that they contain errors, is a policy which seems to me defective, and to the last degree. What absurdities can Sâyana be capable of, and yet who would utter final opinions upon the Rigveda without either the ability, or the attempt, to read Sâyana?"

The main point of the whole work is certainly the translation of the Gâthâs, which are prominent already by their relative extent when compared with the translations of the remaining Yasna, Visparad, Âfrinagân, Gâhs, and miscel-

laneous fragments. The translation of the Gāthās is accompanied by many remarks which partly endeavor to support the translation and partly give deviating opinions of other scholars. The translation is closely literal, but filled out and rounded as to form by the free use of additions. When it is read with a critical eye, it will be observed that the translator occasionally strove after a more pleasing effect, but as we lose the metrical flow of the original entirely, such an effort to put the rendering somewhat on a level with the original in this respect becomes a real necessity.

Each hymn is preceded by a synopsis, and the author's talent (certainly acquired by theological studies) in following the often twisted train of thoughts and disentangling them has proved eminent here. He reminds one of an excellent interpreter of the Old Testament, who, when striving to interpret difficult psalms or doubtful passages from the prophets, must often try with all possible sagacity, but also with the greatest love and devotion for his task, and with a great faculty of after-feeling, to find out the hidden connexion of ideas and to put it in due light.

In fine, this translation is based throughout on solid studies and on a careful use of the existing materials. In a department of science where, in spite of many successful co-operating endeavors, much is still left to be done, a work like the present will certainly be efficacious, and we gladly acknowledge having drawn from it ourselves ample instruction and impulse for further inquiry. In a subject so much disputed as the Gāthās are, it is inevitable that some of the views delivered in the introduction, as well as several parts of the translation, will meet with contradiction. When proceeding from earnest scholars, whose only aim is truth, contradiction has its rights and will be useful to science. But when proceeding from dilettanti who have come forward with studies half or less than half completed, and who are nevertheless consulted by a public which is ignorant as regards the innermost laws of science, contradiction is surely to be complained of. But the hard-working specialist may console himself with the consciousness that he has himself honestly striven to do his duty and that he has searched earnestly for the truth. Therefore we have the wish and firm hope that a book whereon its author has set a good portion of his lifetime (more than ten years) may find many attentive, thinking, and unprejudiced readers.

JENA, February 9, 1889.

EUGEN WILHELM.

A New English Dictionary, on Historical Principles; founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Part IV, Sect. 1, Bra-Byz, completing Vol. I (A and B); Sect. 2, C-Cass, commencing Vol. II. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

Part IV of the New English Dictionary has been too long unnoticed in this Journal. It is, as seen above, divided into two sections, completing Vol. I and commencing Vol. II. With the first section is issued the preface and introduction to Vol. I. The latter has been noticed with Part I in this Journal (V 361); the former is, in part, new and is dated April, 1888. The plan of the work is familiar to all readers of the Journal, and it remains but to note progress as the work is issued from time to time.

The letters A and B include 31,254 words (A 15,123, B 16,131), divided as follows: main words, 22,232; special combinations, 4292; subordinate words, 4730; and the main words are classified as current, 15,380; obsolete, 5982; and imperfectly naturalized or alien, 870. It will thus be seen that a little more than one-fourth of the whole number of main words are obsolete, more in A than in B, so that the editor says: "Fewer of the Old English and Norman words have dropped out of use than of the much more recent learned importations of the Renascence, which, after a short literary life, perished before the end of the seventeenth century." Any reader of late sixteenth and of seventeenth century prose can corroborate this statement, and it is a blessing that this has happened, for otherwise the vocabulary of the language would have been much more highly Latinized than it is. The editor says further: "It is also worthy of note that, of the whole English vocabulary on record since the twelfth century (so far as A and B show), more than three-fourths [even of main words nearly three-fourths] is still in current use"; and "the general fact furnishes striking evidence of the continuity and general identity of our language during seven centuries." Why then is the historical study of the language still tabooed in so many institutions of learning, and, even where recognized, too often looked at askance, and relegated to a subordinate position in the requirements for college honors, so that, as Professor Toller, of the Victoria University, England, writes (in a recent private letter which I take the liberty of quoting): "English is a sister of Latin and Greek all allow in theory, but when it is a question of going into society, English is Cinderella. I hope, however, the glass slipper and the prince are somewhere in the future!"

The Preface refers, further, to the question of admission or exclusion of proper names and their derivatives, the unsettled spelling and pronunciation of certain words, and the general difficulties of the work, quoting on this point from Dr. Johnson's Preface, but these difficulties have been enhanced a thousand-fold since Dr. Johnson's time, for so much more is now required. The editor may be commended for his caution, and his fearlessness in writing "derivation unknown," wherever necessary, for it is well not to be cocksure of everything. In another point the system adopted deserves commendation. While commenting on the fact that the vocabulary of this Dictionary "will be found to be, even in its modern words, much more extensive than that of any existing Dictionary," the editor well adds: "In connexion with this, it has to be borne in mind that a Dictionary of the English Language is not a Cyclopaedia: the Cyclopaedia *describes things*; the Dictionary *explains words*, and deals with the description of things only so far as is necessary in order to fix the exact significations and uses of words." It is doubtful whether the two can be satisfactorily combined, and the effort to do both may result in the proverbial "falling between two stools."

The Appendix to the Preface contains the names of the sub-editors and of those readers who have contributed at least 1000 quotations. In the latter list it is interesting to find several names of residents in this country, although not so many as might be desired. The great Dictionary should represent the work, as well as the vocabulary, of both branches of the English-speaking race. In respect to the latter point little difference will be found to exist, but

some words of local origin in this country are used, and therefore should be duly recorded. A cursory examination has been made in respect to this point with satisfactory results. A few words developed during the late Civil War may be cited: *Bummer* is characterized as "*U. S. slang*," and its definition is given in the first quotation from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 Sept., 1865. The corresponding verb, however, as in *to bum around*, is not included among other verbs of like spelling. It may be remarked just here in passing, for the benefit of our purists, that *Bumble-bee* is noted as a good word from 1530 on; we need not be restricted to *humble-bee*. *Bushwhacker* and its cognates are also "*U. S.*," found in the sense of "backwoodsman" in Irving as early as 1809, and in its transferred military sense in Macmillan's Magazine for June, 1862. The color *Butternut* is defined as "of a brownish-grey," and explained as "the color of the Southern uniform in the American War of Secession." This is liable to convey a wrong impression. For the benefit of our English friends it may be stated here that the color of the Southern uniform was a bluish-grey, and that the uniforms furnished by some of the States to their troops were of a *butternut*, i. e., brownish, color; so that, when the writer in the *Cornhill Magazine* for January, 1863, speaks of "The regiments in homespun grey and butternut that trail dustily through the high streets [of Richmond]," he means two entirely different colors. The earliest quotation for the color is from Mrs. Stowe's *Pearl Orr's Island* (1861). A "*Butternut*" is defined, from *The Times* of 6 March, 1863, as "one who sympathizes with the South." We have not yet reached "*Copperhead*" in the second Section of this Part, but, as is well known, that word was much more common in this signification. In this Section "*Carpet-bagger*," a war-product, receives due recognition. These words illustrate the attention that has been paid to including American words of recent origin. Another American product that has crossed the water and gotten into the Dictionary is *Butterine*, first advertised in *The Grocer* for March, 1874, and in Parkes's *Manual of Practical Hygiene* (1878) we find: "A substance from New York has lately made its appearance in the market under the name of butterine." But as illustrating two points, that quotations for the use of words are still being accumulated as the work progresses, and that our English brethren can coin words as well as Americans, I quote the last example, from a newspaper of 14 July, 1887: "The dairy farmers scored heavily against the butterinists by securing the substitution of the word 'margarine' for 'butterine' in the bill for regulating the sale of imitation butter." The editor has not ventured to include the noun '*Butterinist*', but there is an example to his hand, not a year old when this Part was issued, so that it is, perhaps, one of the latest word-formations in present English speech.

Perhaps it will surprise some Americans to find the word *Bug* as applied to an insect marked "Now chiefly *dial.* and in *U. S.*," though the quotations reach back to 1642. It but shows that we still preserve words in everyday use that are obsolescent in England. "The *U. S. slang* 'big bug' for an aristocrat, 'swell,'" is assigned to *Bug*, *sb.¹* = bogy, "though regarded by those who use it as referring to *Bug*, *sb.²*"; but "*U. S. fire-bug*" is included under *Bug*, *sb.²* = insect. It may be added that the etymology of this *Bug* is unknown; that of the former, in use from the fourteenth century *bugge* to eighteenth century, is "possibly from Welsh *bwg* = a ghost"; the word "now survives only in the compound *Bugbear*."

This must suffice for a very inadequate notice of this valuable work. It is a work that no library can dispense with, and it is replete with information and interest on every page. The sole drawback is "the element of time," which, the editor says, "still remains inexorable," but he adds, "since the close of Volume I, it has been the aim of the editor and his staff to maintain such a regular rate of progress as will ensure the production of one Part a year." In that event we may soon look for Part V, but even at that rate it will be twenty years before the work can be finished. This is sailing too close to the wind, and for the benefit of those of us who may have no use for mundane dictionaries by that time, as well as to secure the completion of the work by the present efficient editor and his staff, we may express the hope that it may be found possible to increase materially this rate of progress. We would not have the work slurred to effect this, but perhaps an increase of working force may expedite it.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Chaucer. The Minor Poems. Edited by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

We at last have a complete and critical edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems, and are indebted for it to Professor Skeat, the indefatigable worker. It will be sufficient to describe just what this edition is, and to commend it to all *Fachmänner*. After an Introduction of lxxxvi pages, follow XXIII poems, occupying pages 1-222; the Notes fill pp. 223-404, the Glossarial Index, pp. 405-451, and the Indexes of Proper Names and of Subjects Explained in the Notes, pp. 452-462.

The Introduction is very full and complete, giving the testimony of Chaucer, Lydgate, Shirley, the scribes of the MSS, and Caxton, to Chaucer's works. The early editions of Chaucer's works are next enumerated, the table of contents of Stowe's edition (1561)—Part I, reprinted matter, and Part II, Stowe's additions—is given, and the poems contained in each Part are discussed. The poems added in Speght's editions of 1598 and 1602, and those in Dr. Morris's edition of 1866, are next considered. Then follow a complete list of the MSS, about forty in number, nearly all of which have been printed in the Chaucer Society's publications, and remarks upon some of the most important MSS at Oxford (6), Cambridge (4), and London (10), after which each of the twenty-three poems is considered at greater or less length, filling some forty pages of the Introduction.

The last three poems are printed as an Appendix. No. XXI is copied by Shirley in MS Harl. 78 as a continuation of the "Complaint to Pity," and its lines are so numbered in Furnivall's "Odd-texts of Chaucer's Poems," but Stowe's edition of 1561 prints it as a separate poem. Prof. Skeat says that it has nothing to do with the "Complaint to Pity," and is a succession of metrical experiments, two fragments furnishing "the sole example, in English literature of that period, of the use of *tersa rima*, obviously copied from Dante; and Chaucer was the only writer who then had a real acquaintance with that author." Nos. XXII and XXIII are additions made by Prof. Skeat, discovered by him while searching various MSS of Chaucer's Minor Poems in the British Museum. They are both in Shirley's handwriting, though they are not claimed by Shirley

for Chaucer, but Prof. Skeat thinks that for the first the internal evidence is irresistible, and that the second fulfills all the usual tests of metre, rime, and language. Both poems are in Troilus-verse, the verse also of the "Parliament of Fowls," and the last stanza of the first one shows direct connection with that poem. The internal evidence for Chaucer's authorship is very strong, stronger to my mind than in No. XXI, and we are thus indebted to Prof. Skeat for the recovery of two of Chaucer's poems never before printed, the one of 91 and the other of 21 lines. In No. XXIII, line 19 seems to me susceptible of emendation by reading *suffren* for *suffre*. The line is as follows:

"Ne yit to long to *suffre* in this plyte."

According to Chaucer's usual practice, *e* in *suffre* would be elided before *i* in *in*, which would destroy the rhythm, whereas if we read *suffren*, we preserve the rhythm, and we preserve the form used by Chaucer under similar circumstances in "The Book of the Duchesse," line 412:

"Had mad it *suffren*, and his sorwes."

Various readings are given at the foot of each page, and the Notes state the reasons for particular readings or emendations, so that we have at last, what has been long wanted, a critical edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems. We could wish that the "Legend of Good Women" had been included, but its length forbade. Prof. Corson's edition of it has long been out of print, and it is not now accessible except in editions of Chaucer's complete works. Prof. Corson's edition should be reprinted.

It may be remarked, in passing, that Prof. Skeat makes no mention of Prof. Lounsbury's excellent little edition of the "Parliament of Fowls," which has been long before the public, but perhaps it has not yet found its way across the water; and while recognizing that this poem "may have been written in 1381, in which case it may very well refer to the betrothal of King Richard II to Queen Anne of Bohemia," Prof. Skeat omits to give credit for this discovery to Dr. John Koch, of Berlin, whose essay on the subject was long ago reprinted in the Chaucer Society's Publications. He quotes from Prof. Ward's "Life of Chaucer," but Ward simply follows Dr. Koch's essay.

The reader is referred to the Introduction itself for Prof. Skeat's reasons for the acceptance or rejection of certain poems heretofore included in Chaucer's works. Besides the three above-mentioned, Prof. Skeat has added two others found in Chaucer MSS, one of which has been printed by Maetzner as a specimen of Chaucer's Minor Poems, and he has rejected "The Mother of God," with others now generally regarded as spurious. As it stands, the edition will be welcomed by all lovers of Chaucer.

J. M. G.

The Poems of Laurence Minot. Edited with Introduction and Notes by
JOSEPH HALL, M. A. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1887.

Mr. Hall has given us a handy little edition of the eleven lyrical poems written in the Northern dialect by Laurence Minot—a Yorkshireman, as is thought—in commemoration of the victories of Edward III over the Scots and over the French during twenty years of the fourteenth century (1333-52).

Very little is known of the author, hence Mr. Hall occupies part of his Introduction in telling what is known of some others of the same name who flourished during this century, in order, as he says, that "it may help some more fortunate searcher." The leading characteristics of the grammar and metre are noted, showing that the author wrote in the Northern dialect, "but with a slight admixture of Midland forms," and that he was a skilful metrist for his time. Every poem but the third is written in stanzas; five of them use the alliterative long line with end rime, and the others vary the form of the stanza; the prevailing rhythm of the former is trochaic and dactylic; of the latter, iambic.

These poems were first printed by Ritson in 1795, anonymously, and reprinted in 1825 with Ritson's name. They were again printed by Wright in 1859, in his "Political Poems and Songs," and in 1884 by Scholle in No. 52 of "Quellen und Forschungen," with "an elaborate grammatical and metrical study of the poems, a normalized text, and a few notes." In 1876 Bierbaum published "a dissertation principally on the grammar and historical interest of the author."

Minot's poems have also been treated in Chapter X of the recently published (1889) fourth volume of Morley's "English Writers," but Prof. Morley does not seem to have heard of Hall's edition, for, while the works of the other writers above-mentioned are noted, Hall's is omitted. These poems are preserved in but one MS (Cotton, Galba, E. ix), and we are thankful to the scribe for having included them in the other more notable contents of the MS, all enumerated by Mr. Hall, for in the dearth of lyrical poetry before Chaucer, Minot's poems, though less than a thousand lines all together, occupy a conspicuous position. We are grateful to editor and publishers for having presented them in such a neat and convenient form, especially for school use in the teaching of Middle English.

J. M. G.

A Concise Dictionary of Middle English from A. D. 1150 to 1580. By the Rev. A. L. MAYHEW, M. A., and the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., LL. D. Edin., M. A. Oxon. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

This work is intended, as the Preface states, "to meet, in some measure, the requirements of those who wish to make some study of Middle English, and who find a difficulty in obtaining such assistance as will enable them to find out the meanings and etymologies of the words most essential to their purpose." It gives under one alphabet "*all* the words and *every* form contained in the glossaries to eleven publications in the Clarendon Press Series," namely, the three well-known volumes of Morris and Skeat's Specimens (1150-1580), their equally well-known volumes of Chaucer selections, Skeat's Wycliffe publications, his Piers Plowman selections and Tale of Gamelyn, and Bramley's edition of Hampole's Psalter.

It may thus be called a convenient hand-list of words and forms found in all the texts contained in these publications, with some additions from other sources, and will serve very well to effect its object until the completion of Maetzner's M. E. Dictionary, or the new edition of Stratmann, now preparing, as Prof. Skeat tells us, by Mr. Henry Bradley for the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

J. M. G.

UoF M

REPORTS.

NEUE JAHRBUCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1887.¹

Fascicle 7.

57. Zur geschichte griechischer göttertypen. F. Back. I. Hermes und Dionysos mit besonderer rücksicht auf die darstellung des Pheidias. The figure on the east side of the frieze of the Parthenon, opening the assembly of the gods, is Hermes. Next to him is Apollo, and next to Poseidon is Dionysos. Hermes and Dionysos are represented by Pheidias as beardless youths. B. adds an historical review of the development of this type.

(28). Zu Sophokles Aias (651). H. Blümner and R. Paehler. A closing word from each party in the discussion of the reading of the line cited.

(33). Skylla in der Aristotelischen poetik und der jüngere dithyrambos. Th. Gomperz. A reply to Susemihl (see Jahrb. 1887, fasc. 3 and 4).

(20). Zu Thukydides. R. Wöhler. Note on II 54, and the pronunciation of the diphthong *oi* (*λυός—λοιμός*).

58. Hat sich das klima Italiens seit dem altertum geändert? F. Olck, Königsberg. This is directed against Heinrich Nissen (Italische Landeskunde, I 396–402), who has sought to prove that such a change has taken place. In Petermann's Mitteilungen, Fischer had raised the question in 1879 and given a hypothetical affirmative. Cantoni, Encyclopedia Agraria I, Torino, 1880, a good authority, takes the opposite ground—the same ground with Olck. The present article concludes: "dasz alle überlieferten natur-phänomene nur auf die stabilität des klimas in historischen zeiten hindeuten und dasz einige derselben eine fast absolute sicherheit dieses schlusses verbürgen."

59. Zu Ciceros Sestiana. A. Weidner, Dortmund. Critical note on §69.

60. Zu Ciceros rhetorischen schriften. Th. Matthias, Zittau. Notes on *de inventione*, *de oratore*, *de opt. gen. orat.*, and *topica*.

61. Zu Ciceros reden. Steuding, Wurzen. Notes on *pro Roscio*, *de imp. Pomp.*, *pro Murena*, *pro Sestio*.

62. Zu Ennius, Lucilius, Juvenalis. E. Baehrens, Groningen. (1). On fr. 348b, Baehrens reads: <non ego cuncta queam uerbis comprehendere>, monstra si sibi lingua loqui speret atque ora decem sint, in moerum [= murum] ferro cor sit pectusque reuinctum. (2). On some new fragments of Lucilius. (3). Juvenal XIII 168, read *longis* for *parvis*.

¹ As soon as the arrears are overtaken, it is hoped to make the report of the Jahrbücher somewhat fuller—Ed. A. J. P.



63. Das Danaebild des Artemon und Plinius. W. H. Roscher, Wurzen. Note in defence of the reading *praedonibus* (XXXV 139), directed against Helbig (Bull. dell' Inst. 1865, pg. 232), who proposes *piscatoribus*.

64. Zu Vergilius Aeneis. O. Keller, Prag. Critical notes on I 461 (*lacrimae rerum*), II 552 (*lateri...abdidit*). *Rerum* = "die welt," and is to be construed with *mortalia* (*sunt lacrimae, rerum etc.*) Regarding *lateri*, the question is raised whether it may not be a locative.

65. Auguralia. P. Regell. On two passages of Festus, (1) pg. 245b, 12-14m, and (2) 245b, 31-34. Regell completes the first thus:

<propter->

via ap<pellantur auspicia quae se propter viam>
ostent<ant, quae si dissimilia sunt et maiore vi,>
infirm<antur superiora auguria minora.>

The second thus:

P<ullaria auspicia denuo obser->
vanda iudicant pri<oribus auspiciis aut perperam aut pro->
pere administratis, u<t repetitis auspiciis superiora>
stabiliantur.

The article concludes with observations on the "doctrin der collision verschiedener auguralzeichen."

66. Zu Tacitus Agricola. K. Hachtmann, Hermann Kothe. A discussion of c. 18, §6, with the proposed emendation of *qui mare* to *qui ratem*. This is followed by Kothe on c. 30, who proposes *nam et uni* for *nam et universi*—translating: wir sind das letzte unabhängige volk der insel, etc.

Fascicle 8.

67. Anz. v. A. Breusing, die Nautik der Alten. K. Buresch. The book is one of great scientific and paedagogic value. Of especial interest are the discussions of Homeric matters, and of the shipwreck of the Apostle Paul. Buresch closes his review with certain contributions of his own to the discussion of the subject.

68. Der Kokalos des Aristophanes. E. Hiller. Kock's note, "interdum Araroti fabula tribuitur," is erroneous.

69. Zu Aristophanes Wespen. K. Zacher. Critical notes on 107, 147, 191, 599, 603, 680 f., 699.

70. Zu Aristophanes Frieden. K. Zacher. Critical notes on 152, 201, 241.

71. Zur Anthologia Palatina. H. Stadtmüller. A number of critical notes.

72. Zu Ciceros Laelius. K. Meissner. Critical notes, in which are discussed (a) insertions of words such as *amicitia* in passages in which it is very possibly a gloss, as in §5 twice, §50, §63; *si* before *bonis*, §64; *esse debent*, §67; *dimittendis*, §76; *agrestibus*, §81; *non comitem*, §96. (b) omissions of words owing to resemblance or identity of letters, especially in

the terminations (see §§15, 33, 48, 68, 89, 91); (c) passages faultily transmitted (see §§33, 41, 68, 74, 77, 95).

73. Zu Phaedrus Fabeln. Th. Gomperz. Note on I 5, v. 8, *quia sum fortis*.

(64). Zu Vergilius Aeneis. Th. Maurer, F. Weck, W. Gebhardi. (1). On X 186, where M. reads: . . . *Ricina o paucis*, etc., on V 194, VII 804, 188. (2). On III 682-687. (3). On I 299; Gebhardi strikes out *ne . . . finibus arceret*.

74. Zu Cornelius Neros. E. Anspach. Notes on Milt. 5, 3; Them. 7, 2; Cim. 2, 5; Epam. 3, 2; 4, 6; 9, 1; Pelop. 5, 1; Ages. 3, 4; 5, 2; Eum. 1, 1. Also by W. Boehme, on Them. 4, 1; Aris. 2, 2; Paus. 2, 6; Lys. 4, 1; Alc. 7, 3; Thras. 1, 5; Dion. 5, 5; Iph. 2, 4; Chabr. 3, 3.

(55). Zu Horatius. K. Nieberding. On Sat. II 2, 23 ff. N. reads line 29 thus: *carne tamen, quam vis, distat nil haec avis illa*, and gives reasons. On II 2, 9 ff., an explanation of the sense.

Fascicle 9.

75. Die beschreibung des marktes von Athen, und die enneakrunos episode bei Pausanias. P. Weiszäcker. The inner kerameikos is described under the following heads: 1. The west side of the market. 2. The south side and the orchestra. 3. The north side. 4. Additional *stoas* and kolonos agoraios. Then follows an extended discussion of the "enneakrunos-episode" in Pausanias, whom W. is inclined to defend against charges of inaccuracy.

76. Nochmals die schlagentopfwerferin des altarfrieses von Pergamon. W. H. Roscher. The writer abandons one of his former hypotheses (Jahrb. 1886, p. 225 ff.), that the figure is an Eriny, and supports his other conjecture, that an Hygieia is intended, by new arguments.

77. Zu Sophokles Oidipus Tyrannos. H. Steuding. Critical notes on 360, 715, 1478, 1528.

78. Zu Gregorios von Nazianz. G. Knaack. K. calls on A. Ludwich to prepare a critical edition of all the literary remains of Nazianzen.

(55). Zu Horatius (Carm. III 30). E. Schultze, St. Petersburg. An exegetical account of the entire ode, with a suggested rearrangement, namely, the omission of the second line, *regalique situ pyramidum altius*, and the insertion of *ortus, at ingeni | fama factus in urbe after regnavit populorum*.

79. Zu Tacitus Dialogus. H. Steuding. Critical notes on cc. 6, 25, 31.

80. Th. Vogel: Anzeige von S. Dosson, Étude sur Quinte Curce. An analysis of the book into four principal divisions—the first discussing Curtius in relation to the writers of antiquity; the second, the relation of the historian Curtius to historical tradition; the third, Curtius the man; and the last, the purposes Curtius had in mind in the composition of his work. The review is generously favorable.

(54). Zu Terentius. Hans Gilbert. The change in Andria 315 proposed by himself on p. 428 of this volume, should read *quid nisi illud*, etc.

81. Martialis Catullstudien. K. P. Schulze, Berlin. The best work on Martial as an admirer of Catullus is Paukstatt's dissertation, "de Martiale Catulli imitatore" (Halle, 1876), a work to which Friedländer has confessed his great indebtedness. In the present article Schulze adds not only passages from Catullus of which Martial felt the influence, but passages from other writers, as Tibullus and Horace.

Fascicle 10.

82. Die pronomina *μὶν* und *νὴν*. A. Thumb. *μὶν* grew out of a union of the particle *σὺν* (which we find in the Thessalian *μὰ* and the Sanskrit *sma*), and the accusative *ν*. In like manner *νὴν* is from the particle *νὸ* (Sanskrit *nu*, Gothic *nu*) and *ν*.

83. Zu den Orphischen Argonautikā. A. Ludwich. Notes on 57, 118, 820, 846, 1189.

84. Opferspenden. P. Stengel. An able and interesting discussion of this somewhat neglected subject.

85. Zu Sophokles Antigone. K. Nieberding. In 4, for *ἀτης ἀτερ* read *ἀτηρ' ἀπερ*. In 782 read *τλήμοσι* for *κτήμασι*, and translate, "Eros, der du kühne helden bewältigst, der du auf den zarten wangen der jungfrau wohnst."

(37). Ad Plutarchi de proverbiis Alexandrinorum libellum nuper repertum. O. Crusius. A large number of valuable notes.

(55). Zu Horatius. W. H. Roscher, Wurzen. On Carm. II 13, 13 ff. Recent editors of Horace confess to finding a difficulty in *Poenus* (15); Lachmann proposed *Thynus* in its stead. Against this emendation Roscher urges several reasons, and himself proposes *poenas*.

Fascicle 11.

88. Zur frage über die glaubwürdigkeit des Thukydides. E. Lange. A comprehensive discussion of the question directed against the sceptical views of Müller-Strübing. Lange shows that it is impossible to convict Thukydides of "tendenziöse verschweigungen" in his account of either external or internal relations.

(20). Zu Thukydides. E. A. Junghahn. The attack on Plataea, as described in Aen. Pol. 2, 3-5; in (Pseudo) Demosth. against Neaira, and in Diod. XII 41 f., may be traced back to the same authority as that followed by Thukydides, II 2-5.

(27). Zu Theognis. E. Hiller. A brief note.

89. Das Sophistengesetz des Demetrios Phalereus. G. F. Unger. This law should be ascribed to Dem. Phalereus, and not to Dem. Poliorketes. Its date was 315 B. C.

90. Zu Polybios. F. Hultsch. Notes on III 20, 8; XVIII 11, 7, and XXIX 9, 12.

91. Zu Dionysios von Halikarnasos. K. Jacoby. A note on IV 15.

92. Miscellen. K. E. Georges, Gotha. Textual emendations on Varro de l. lat., Livy XXVI 22, a fragment of Cicero, Plaut. Stich. 198, Ulpian, Seneca, Cael. Aurelianus, Placidus, Vegetius, Fronto, Plaut. Curc., and Fulgentius.

93. Zur origo gentis romanae. E. Baehrens, Groningen. The date and authorship of this treatise are wrapped in uncertainty. After giving an outline of the discussion bearing on the elucidation of these two points, Baehrens combats Jordan's opinion that it dates from the 5th or 6th century; he claims Verrius Flaccus for the author, and holds that the treatise as we now have it is a selection dating from the 4th century. Textual emendations.

94. Die inauguration der duoviri sacris faciundis. P. Regell. In opposition to Becker-Marquardt (Handb. IV 351) that all sacerdotes pop. rom. received their sanction by means of inauguration. He denies that this is the case with the duov. sacr. fac.

95. Zur Aegritudo Perdicæ. A. Otto, Glogau. Textual emendation on Baehrens' edition.

96. Zu Ausonius. R. Foerster, Kiel. Textual emendation on epigr. 99.

Fascicle 12.

97. Zur ältern griechischen kunstgeschichte. M. Zucker. I. The alleged statue of Athene, by Dipoinos and Skyllis, in the Lauseion at Byzantium, was really a statue of the Egyptian goddess Neith, mentioned by Herodotus, II 182. II. The alleged statue of Apollo, by Theodoros and Telekles, at Samos, was one of the wooden statues of Amasis, mentioned in the same place. III. A note on the text of Pausanias VII 5, 5.

98. Zur Eurotasstatue des Eutychides. P. Weiszäcker. An interpretation of Anth. Gr. IX 709.

(44). Nochmals Charnabon. G. Knaack. In Hygin. de Astr. 14.

99. Die textüberlieferung der Aristotelischen Politik. F. Susemihl. In opposition to Heylbut (Rhein. Mus. XLII 102-110), S. holds that II¹ is more reliable than II².

(2). Zum Homerischen Hermeshymnos. R. Peppmüller. Notes on 258 and 427.

(38). Emendationes Vergilianae. E. Baehrens. Critical notes on the fourth and fifth books of the Aeneid.

100. Zu Quintilianus. M. Kiderlin, München. Critical notes on I 2, 4 and X 1, 130.

101. Neue Studien zu Dracontius und der Orestis tragœdia. Critical notes by Konrad Rossberg, Hiddesheim.

(23). Zu Ovidius Metamorphosen. W. H. Roscher. On III 642, in reply to Ehwald (Bursian-Müller's Jahresber. 1885, pg. 254) and in defence of the reading *ore* for *aure*.

102. Zu Tacitus Annalen. K. Schrader. On II 26. This places the nine campaigns of Tiberius in Germany in the years 8 and 7 B. C. and 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12 A. D. The campaigns of Germanicus beyond the Rhine are set in the years 14, 15, 16 A. D. In connection with XIII 6, the date of Pompey's birth is discussed.

103. Zu Livius. M. Müller. A note on XXXVI 23, 7.

E. B. CLAPP.

W. E. WATERS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM. Vol. XL.¹

Pp. 1-24. F. Blass. Notes on Bergk's Poetae Lyrici, ed. IV, vol. III. 1. Alcman. A renewed examination of the MS of Alcman's Parthenion, during a recent visit to Paris, has led Blass to cancel entirely a previous article on Alcman (Hermes, XIV 466-68). He shows that Bergk's copy needs to be corrected in accentuation and punctuation. The scholia are written in two different handwritings, one of which is also that of the text. Then follow new readings and a reproduction of the corrected text. The poem consisted of 11, not of 10 strophes, as Bl. formerly stated in Hermes, XIII 30, and with the rest of the *Ilapθένεα* headed the collection of 6 books.

Pp. 25-29. L. Schwabe. The birth year of Juvenal. From Juv. XIII 17 Friedländer thought that the poet was born 67 A. D., in which opinion he was supported by K. Lehrs. But it is clear that v. 18 refers to Calvinus, to whom the XIII satire is addressed. We can only draw a general conclusion. The attitude of the poet is not that of a younger man mockingly reflecting on the age of his elder friend, but rather that of one equally old, or, still better, of one more advanced in years. O. Ribbeck heartily agrees with Schwabe's statements.

Pp. 30-37. E. Wellmann. Codex Hamilton 329 (Galenos). In the H. collection of MSS was discovered one of Galen, *περὶ τῶν Ἰπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων*, which proved important for determining the text. The fragment dates from the fifteenth century, and has been bound without reference to the sequence of parts. In its readings H always coincides with M (Marcianus 284), and generally with A (the source of the Aldine text, ed. 1525 A. D.) The treatment of lacunae, however, indicates that H and L (Laurentianus 74, 22) go back to the same MS, only that the copyist of H found the MS in a better state of preservation. M was copied from H after the latter had suffered from exposure; A was copied before M, and ere the exposure had rendered H in part illegible, or it was filled out from another MS. For textual criticism M can claim no independent value by the side of H. Thus the text must be based on two sources, viz. C (Cantabrigiensis 47) and the MS represented by L on the one side and H on the other.

¹ See A. J. P. IX 232.

Pp. 38-64. H. Nissen. On temple orientation. III. In this article, which is the third of a series (see XXVIII 513 and XXIX 369), N. treats of the ceremonies of the Egyptians in taking the bearings of temples. The inscriptions, relative to this point, confirm the principle laid down, that the Egyptian temples were laid out not with reference to the direction of the river Nile, as Vitruvius IV 5 maintains, but with reference to the stars; again, that the direction of the temple-axis coincided with the azimuth of the star which stood in a close connexion with the god to whom the temple was dedicated. After demonstrating the truth of this in respect of 10 Egyptian temples, the writer closes his article by showing that the same plan of orientation was observed in laying out Alexandria, so that the ascension of Canopus directed the minor and that of Regulus the major axis of the principal temple and of the whole city.

Pp. 66-113. Erw. Rhode. On Apuleius. Notwithstanding the merits of Hildebrand's Apuleius, a renewed examination into the life and the writings of the poet is called for, owing to erroneous views held at the present time. Abandoning the indefinite terms *puer* and *pueritia*, R. fixes on 158 A. D. as the date of the proconsulship of Claudius Maximus, before whom the *Apology* was delivered. The author's schoolmate, Aemilianus Strabo, was cos. suff. in 156 A. D. Assuming that he could not have been under 33 years of age at the time, and that their age was the same, Apuleius would have been 6 years younger than Pudentilla when they were married. This would give 124 A. D. as the year of his birth. The *Metamorphoses* he presumes to be the translation of a Greek book, the author of which, one Λόγιος, tells the story of his life before, during, and after his transmutation into an ass. Though the narrative is retained in the first person, it is easy to distinguish the individuals. Gradually, however, the distinction is abandoned, and Lukios of Corinth is lost sight of to such an extent that he is spoken of as Madaurensis. Accordingly R. believes to be justified in applying remarks in this portion of the book to Ap. himself. Upon his return from Greece, about 151 A. D., Ap. settled at Rome, and here he wrote the *Metamorphoses*. The character of the work shows that it belongs to the early part of his career, and that it was not composed at a time when he was obliged to stand on the dignity of a philosopher, or when, like Boccaccio, he felt ashamed of the frivolous performance of his youth. Why then was it not used by his accusers? The work need not have been known in those distant parts, and had it been known, Ap. was not the enchanter, but the enchanted. Besides, the *Apology* was written so long after the trial that he could represent himself as he wished to appear to his contemporaries and to posterity.

Pp. 114-132. F. Koepp. The Galatian wars of the Attalidai.¹

I. The defeat of the Gauls and that of Antiochus Hierax were not the same event, as Niebuhr and Koehler assert, but separate occurrences. While the Seleukidai were busy in the East, and Attalos had just begun to rule, the Gauls seized this opportunity and began war against the king; but Attalos defeated them. According to CIG. II 3536, and the narrative of Pausanias, their defeat

¹ See A. J. P. IX 235.

took place at the sources of the river Caicus. With the same event K. connects the story of the *βασιλέως νίκη* as given by Polyaeus (Strateg. IV 19). The Gauls returned the following year, were defeated again near the temple of Aphrodite at Pergamum (?), and finally driven out of Asia Minor. A second period of the war begins about 230 B. C.

II. Contrary to the general opinion, K. believes that there was a war against the Gauls prior to the one of the year 168 B. C. According to the prologue of Trog. Pomp. XXXII and a frg. of Polybius XXII 21, this war ended about 183 B. C. with the subjugation of the whole nation. In memory of this victory over the Gauls, Eumenes II adorned the Nikephorion and erected the great altar of Zeus and Athene with the symbolic battle of the giants thereon.

Pp. 133-144. W. Deeke. Notes on the interpretation of the Messapian inscriptions. III. Continued from XXXVII 373 ff.¹ Linguistic and grammatical interpretation of the great inscription of Basta, the modern Vaste, in the south-western corner of Iapygia. The text is published by Th. Mommsen, Unteritalische Dialecte, IV, p. 52 ff. Special attention is paid to the proper names.

Pp. 145-160. Miscellanies. B. Nake changes the traditional reading τὰμ' ὡς ἀν εἰτω, Soph. O. R. 329, to σαφὸς ἀνείπω, ibid. 1447 f. reads αἴτδε δν θέλεις, inserting the comma before instead of after αἴτδε, and considering καὶ γὰρ δρθῶς τῶν γε σὸν τελεῖς ἵπερ as an explanation of δν θέλεις with the meaning 'thou wilt do it rightly'; and defends the reading, v. 1512b, νῦν δὲ τοιτ' εὐχεσθε μοι, interpreting μοι as a dat. ethic. and translating εὐχεσθε by 'ye humbly beseech.'

R. Muenzel discovers a fragment of Antisthenes in the excerpts of the scholia of Proclus on Plato's Cratylus c. 37, ed. Boissonade.

Naevius bellum Punicum not being cited in books composed during the time of the Republic, Bücheler attributes its citation to the grammarians of the Empire. B. laments that ancient writers, as well as modern authors, misunderstood the phrase *bos lucea*. It is not a Lucanian cow, but, as Varro has it, *lucas ab luce*; cp. Horace *elephans albus*.

E. Hoffmann. The *exiguus libellus* mentioned in Ovid's Ibis, 447 f., cannot refer to the poem of Callimachus; since *volucris devota* is said of a mythical personage, H. connects the line with the Pseudo-Vergilian Ciris, vv. 514-16, thereby giving a date for the composition of the latter.

L. Traube refers the passage in the Commentum Bernense on Lucan II 380, quantum praestare debeat sqq., to a phrase of Demetrius the cynic, whose name he emends into the text;—reads (Florus I 8) insidente galeae corvo alite, instead of *sacra* alite, the present text being the result of an old interpolation; and gives a textual note on Granius Livianus, p. 32, 18 ff. A, ed. Bonn.

J. Van der Vliet. Coniectaneae. Petron. Sat. p. 71, 35 (ed. Bücheler), read *gratiam te adlegato* for *gratiam a legato*;—Minucius Felix Octavius (ed. Cornelissen) c. 6, read *familiares*, not *familiarius*, and c. 28 (i. fin.), *tacent . . . and pati nisi mollior . . . nisi durior*.

G. Busolt examines the accounts of the battle of Himera.

¹ See A. J. P. V 539.

Th. Aufrecht. The root *oμ* (*ομο*) in δυνητι corresponds to the Sanskrit *am*. The primitive meaning probably was to be hard, and trans. to harden, to which belongs ὠμδες, etc.

Pp. 161-203. F. Leo. A chapter on the metres of Plautus. L. endeavors partly to explain certain sporadic metrical formations in the cantica of Plautus better than has been done hitherto, partly to bring about their recognition for the first time. We can see the limits of the art of versification in Plautus and the early Latin poets only when we know the examples which they followed and the extent of their dependence on them. In the study of Plautus L. is guided by the colometry of the Ambrosianus and the Palatinus. The exotic character of the senarius, the trochaic septenarius, the iambic trimeter, and the catalectic trochaic tetrameter is recognized, and the use of them by the Romans as early as Andronicus is fully shown. But what is the origin of the other measures? For models of the metres of Plautus we must go further back than the νέα κωμῳδία, we must go to the ἀρχαία κωμῳδία. The non-occurrence of the catalectic iambic tetrameter in Greek dramatic poetry led Rufinus to refer this metre to Boiscus. But the catalectic iambic, as well as the trochaic and anapaestic tetrameters, like the iambic, trochaic, and anapaestic octonarii, can be reduced to two complete dimeters, and consequently belong to the Greek hypermetra according to which the Latin octonarii were built. The Greek hypermetra, however, at least the iambic, and especially the trochaic, belong in the main to the old comedy. The cretins and bacchii have the same origin. Paeons are frequent in Aristophanes, and for cretins and bacchii the spondaic nature of the Latin language is well adapted. Then come the dochmias, which to the Romans had the ring of the combined bacchius and iambus. An extensive comparison and analysis of the several metres, covering some 30 pages, confirm this view throughout, and offer at the same time a metrical guide for the treatment of doubtful formations. Naevius and Plautus created the polymetric character of the Latin theatre; Ennius, with the exception of the dactyl, simply imitated them.

Pp. 204-209. E. Hiller. Contributions to the history of Greek literature. Continuation from XXXIX 321.¹ On a treatise generally attributed to Dioscorides, the pupil of Isocrates. Comparing the article in Suidas s. v. "Ουμπρος (II, p. 1098 Bernh.), beginning with διτι Διοσκορίδης ἐν τοῖς παρ' Ουμπρῷ νόμοις φησὶν ὡς κτλ., with the section in the epitome of Athenaeus beginning on p. 8e, Casaubonus and others concluded that the latter was an extract from a lost treatise of Dioscorides on Homeric ethics. A comparison shows that the article in Suidas is but a corruption of that in the epitome of Athenaeus. Ath. p. 11a says καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ λέγει πον περὶ αἴτοῦ ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀσάμην φρεσὶ λεγαλέγοι πιθήσας (I 119), η οἵνῳ μεθών, η μ' ἐβλαψαν θεοὶ αἴτοι, εἰς τὴν αἰτήν τιθεὶς πλάστιγγα τὴν μεθῶν τῇ μανίᾳ * οὐτῷ δὲ (i. e. with the addition of the second line, not found in the text of Homer) τὰ ἐπη ταῦτα προηνέγκατο Διοσκορίδης ὁ Ἰσοκράτονς μαθητῆς. Some careless scribe, misinterpreting οὐτῷ, concluded that Diosc. was the author of the whole treatise.

Pp. 210-22. W. Gilbert. Text criticism of Martial. II. Covering books VII-XIV.

¹ See A. J. P. IX 236.

Pp. 223-62. E. Schwartz. Hecataeus of Teos. Sch. examines the Egyptian history of Diodorus, contained in the first book of his *Bibliotheca*, and shows that though Diod. acknowledges much to have been taken from Hecataeus, still more comes from the same source. Diod. ignorance in reference to his own time, compared with the exact information which we find touching the period of the first Ptolemy, at once arouses suspicion. Again, the opposition to the Ptolemies and the girding at the Greeks, together with the fact that his chronological enumerations terminate with the march of Alexander into Asia, serve to strengthen this suspicion. Sch. quotes a number of passages borrowed from Hecataeus, one of which is used also by Plutarch in *de Iside et Osiride*, p. 354. We hear of a Hecataeus of Teos and one of Abdera. There can be no doubt that the two designations refer to the same individual, the former being the correct name. Hec. does not prove to be as scrupulous in his descriptions and narratives as one should expect of him. He is often superficial; his ideas about Egyptian cosmogony and theology are influenced by the Stoic philosophy. His own system of philosophy shows a great affinity with that of Heraclitus, and it is difficult to reconcile the different doctrines set forth by the same author. In his politics he betrays a spirit of opposition to the Ptolemies. To sum up, Hecataeus is by no means a great character with marked features; but just for that reason he reflects better than others the spirit and the ideas of his own time.

Pp. 263-82. Chr. Stephan. The *Florilegium Sangallense* No. 870 and its value for the criticism of Juvenal. Tibullus and other authors having profited by the excerpts of the middle ages, St. proposes to do the same for the text of Juv. He examines the Cod. Sang. 870, which contains 458 verses of the poets then mostly read. To the text of Juv. belong 282 vv.; they were no doubt copied from the valuable but now lost MS D 304, known to have existed at the monastery of Saint Gall. The MS dates from the ninth century. The first 190 verses are extracts from different Latin poets, with no special object in view save that of prosody; vv. 190-422 belong to the text of Juvenal; vv. 423-454 are taken from Persius, and again, vv. 455-58 from Juvenal.

Pp. 283-303. C. Wachsmuth. Public credit under the rule of Alexander's successors. W. reprints and annotates two inscriptions published some time ago by Kumanudis in the *'Αθήνων* X 536 f., and in the *Bull. de corr. Hell.* VIII 23 ff. They are documents from Arkesine on Amorgos, and date from the second century B. C. They give an idea of the exorbitant conditions under which money was borrowed at that time. The states had exhausted their treasures, and the few wealthy temples that remained, such as that of Delos, took large pledges which, in case of non-payment, were appropriated unsparingly.

Pp. 304-307. F. Buecheler. Two authorities of Pliny. We read in Pliny's *Hist. Nat.* XXXVII 37 concerning the amber: *Theochrestus oceano id exaestuante ad Pyrenaei promontoria eici, quod et Xenocrates credidit. qui de his nuperime scripsit viviturque adhuc Asurabas tradit iuxta Atlanticum mare esse lacum Cephisia quem Mauri vocent Electrum.* B. suggests to put a comma after *credidit*, and to insert a period after *adhuc*. Xenocrates was a well-known

writer, and his work *λιθογνώμων* is cited among others by Origen in his scholia to Psalm 118, v. 127. He, not Asurabas, is the principal authority for Pliny in his chapter on the amber. Asurabas' name and work is otherwise unknown, and Pliny probably took his quotation from the writings of the geographer Mnaseas. B. changes Asurabas into Asdrubas, with the approval of Gilde-meister.

Pp. 308-28. *Miscellanies.* R. Kekulé defends his theory of the arrangement of the figures on the eastern gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, against Curtius and Grützner.

F. B. The story of Damon demonstrating to the Areopagus, according to Plato, the relation of morality to music is a literary fiction. Being prior to Plato, it is due to a sophist, perhaps to Damon himself, and it reminds us of the time described in Ps.-Xen. *πολιτ.* 'Αθην. I 13, τὸν μονασκὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντας καταλέλυκεν ὁ δῆμος.

H. Rassow prints conjectures on Aristotle Mor. m. I 35, p. 1198a 3, and II 8, p. 1207a, 35; Eth. Nic. I 4, p. 1096a 34, II 7, p. 1107b 8, V 10, p. 1135a 9, and X 2, p. 1173b 4.

O. Crusius. The notice in Suidas s. v. *χωρὶς ἵππεῖς* appears to be extracted from a work of the paroemiographer Demon, whose partiality for the Ionians has misled historians in their arrangement of the battle of Marathon.

T. Schoell, in Quintil. I 5, 12, reads Metteio Fufeteio, and restores a fragment of Ennius quoted by Donatus in Phorm. II 2, 25.

G. Götz. *Glossographical minutiae.*

Pp. 329-70. H. Nissen. On temple orientation. IV. As the sanctuaries of the Egyptians, the Romans, and the Celts, as well as the Christian churches, were laid out with reference to the sunrise at high-festival days, it is but natural to assume that the Greeks did the same. An examination of over 60 Greek temples at Athens, Olympia, Nemea, Argos and Syracuse shows that all their axes are within the arc described by the rising sun. The façade is towards the east within this arc, and a correspondence is noticed between the position of the temple and the date of its erection. On p. 480 N. retracts his statement referring to the orientation of the temples at Olympia, and promises to treat of them in a special article.

Pp. 371-76. A. Kopp. The sources of the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Some time ago K. believed that the words *εἰς τὸ αἰμαδεῖν* subjoined to the three articles in the E. M., *ἱπήνη*, *φασκάλιον*, and *χρέος*, were a corruption of *εἰς τὸ Αἴλι[ον] Διου[ντοιν]*, and that the Lexicon of Ai. Dion. was the source for these articles. K. is now convinced that *αἰμαδεῖν* was the first word of a separate lexicon, embodied in the E. M., and identical with that of the lexicographer Methodius mentioned in the E. M. under the letter A. Many articles in the *Etym. Gudianum* beginning with A are but miserable extracts from this *αἰμαδεῖν*-lexicon.

Pp. 377-86. J. Kirchner continues the examination of the trustworthiness of the documents in the speeches of Dem. He disagrees with Westermann and his followers, who deny their authenticity, and identifies the witnesses in the speech against Neaira with names discovered on inscriptions.

Pp. 387-96. H. Buermann. The MSS of the minor Attic orators. 1. Laur. plut. IV cod. 11 (B) is a copy of Crippsianus A. 2. Ambros. D 42 sup. (Q) Saec. XV is, with the exception of A, the only codex of importance for the restoration of text of Isaeus and Andocides.

Pp. 397-414. Years ago A. Hug gave definite rules for the sequence of tense after the historical present, in an article published in the NJBPhil. XXXI 877 ff. Now he defends himself against an attack of Em. Hoffmann in the latter's Studien auf dem Gebiete der lateinischen Syntax, Wien, 1884. On some points, it is true, Hoffmann agrees with Hug, and confirms the rules laid down by him, e. g. that after an historical present in the principal clause, the relative clauses introduced by *quam* and superlative, and the correlative clauses introduced by *tantum quantum, quicumque*, etc., are construed with the present; again, that *cum historicum* is followed by the subjunctive of the imperfect or pluperfect. On other points Hug disagrees with Hoffmann, especially with the latter's statement that the historical present was to the Romans simply a preterit.

Pp. 415-38. L. O. Bröcker. Galen's method of literary criticism. Br. attempts to explain the method followed by Galen (1) in lower and (2) in middle criticism, by which Br. means the separation of spurious sentences from genuine contexts; (3) in higher negative and (4) in higher positive criticism. He examines the commentary of G. on Hippocrates in order to discover G.'s attitude towards an author whose text was known to be corrupt, and whose works had to be sifted from a mass of writings ascribed to him in the course of time. Classifying the MSS he discriminates according to their number and value, at the same time remembering that an easy reading can more readily have replaced a difficult one than *vice versa*. Still he does not hesitate to omit or to insert words against the authority of all the MSS. A frequent source of corruption was the fact that *η* and *ε*, *ο* and *ω* were represented by the same sign, and that *η* and *ι* stood for ordinal as well as cardinal numbers. To decide the authorship of a treatise he compares one supposed to be spurious with one of acknowledged genuineness, and illustrates their difference in language and conception. A work is genuine to him when contemporary testimony in favor thereof can be produced, when form and contents do not contradict his knowledge of the history of language and of medicine, and finally when it conforms to what he considers Hippocratean. He appears, however, not to have trusted his system any further than to prove genuine or spurious what was regarded as such by the learned world at his time.

Pp. 439-43. J. M. Stahl. Δρακοντίδης ὁ Λεωγόρον Θοραιεύς. In the biography of the orator Andocides, the son of Leogoras, he is said to be Κυδαθραῖος ἡ Θορεῖς. Now, as we know that Andocides, son of Leogoras, son of Andocides was Κυδαθραιεύς, whence Θοραιεύς? Simply because there was a Leogoras of Θοραι, the father of Δρακοντίδης. Comparing Thuc. I, 51, 4 Γλαίκων τε ὁ Λεόγορον καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρον with CIA. I 179, where the names Γλαίκων and Δρακοντίδης occur as sent on the same errand as Glaucon and Andocides, we have a right to conclude that Ἀνδοκίδης in the Thucydidean passage is a corruption for Δρακοντίδης. This Dracontides, then, appears to have been the son

of Leogoras of Θοπαι. As Dracontides was a conspicuous character in Athenian politics, the question must naturally have arisen whether Leogoras of Θοπαι was not also the father of Andocides the orator.

Pp. 444-52. H. van Herwerden prints 48 conjectures 'ad Iamblich de vita Pythagorica librum.'

Pp. 453-61. R. Förster. Notes on the history of philology. Continuation from XXXVII 485.¹ The Greek MSS of Guillaume Pellicier, ambassador of Francis I to Venice, 1539-42 A. D. The large collection of these MSS is now scattered among the libraries of Europe. Some are in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris, others in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the University Library at Leyden, and especially in the library of Sir Thomas Phillips at Cheltenham. Between the death of Pellicier, 25 Jan. 1568 A. D., and the establishment of the Bibliotheca Claromontana they were in the possession of Claude Nauhot of Avignon, and when the library passed from the Jesuits in 1764 A. D., Gerard Meermann became their owner, with the exception of four, which he had to return to the Bibliothèque du Roy, and which are now in the Supplément grec de la bibl. nat. à Paris.

Pp. 462-80. Miscellanies. R. Peppmüller reads, in Hesiod Theog. 34, *ὑστατον*, id. 121 *πάντων δὲ θεῶν*, id. 224 *κακότητα* for *φίλοτητα*; he interchanges vv. 407 and 408, reads 407 *τίμιον ἀνθρώποισι*, and interchanges vv. 426 and 427.

O. Crusius prints an additional note to his article published in XXXIX 581.

R. Muenzel changes *αἰδοὺς* to *φίλον* in Arist. Eth. Nic. I 5, p. 1097a, 25.

Having discovered that the relative dates of the founding of Sicilian and Italian cities consist in a suspicious series of round numbers ending in 0 or 5, Busolt adds that it is impossible to determine the exact dates, and that we must content ourselves with approximations.

C. Wachsmuth shows, on the basis of Paus. I 19, 5, and Plato's Critias 112a, that we have to interchange the names of the two sources of the Ilissos.

Sophus Bugge, in a note on Deeke's article in XXXIX 638, derives *luna* from primitive **luxna*, **louxna*, **leuksnā*, and *erus* from **aisu*, *esu* God.

F. B. Greek and Italian legal formulas. In cases where grammar, etymology or context fail to clear up the sense of an Italian inscription, B. resorts to a comparison with similar documents in Greek. This method is of late very much facilitated through the edition of the Gortynian Code, by the help of which B. proceeds to explain legal questions. One instance may suffice to show his method of procedure. The law of *Urso* 3, 6 (Bruns fontes, p. 111) says, in reference to an arrested person, *si quis in eo vim faciet, ast eius vincitur, dupli damnas esto*. The particle *ast* proves the great antiquity of the formula. According to Schöll it is conditional. Clarisius explains it by *atque, ac*. In a law of Bantia we have an equivalent to *ast eius vincitur* in the words in *eizeic vincter*, i. e. the particle corresponding to Latin *et* or *atque*. In the Gortynian inscription we read *al ka vukabē*; *ast* corresponds to *al ka*, and *vinci* is equal to *vukāsai*; in both instances this condition is dependent on another.

Zangemeister adds a remark to his article in XXXIX 634.

¹ See A. J. P. VI 242.

Pp. 481-505. O. Ribbeck. An essay on the interpretation and criticism of Propertius. 1. In Propertius, situations and themes are repeated in successive poems so as to form members of a group. The connexion is expressed in older MSS by smaller intervals which, in the course of time, were disregarded. Between the kindred pieces R. finds the relation of contrast or that of strophe and antistrophe; thus III 11 and 12, 13 and 14 were intended to be joined closely, while the connexion between the different parts of II 26 and 29 has been unduly severed. 2. The authentic picture of Cynthia being given in the Monobiblos, the simple rule is, not to admit into the cycle such poems as contradict her genuine character. One must rid oneself of the notion that wherever a mistress appears it is Cynthia. Evidently another person is mentioned in II 2 and 3, and numerous expressions in the first book harmonize but lamely with the known levity of Cynthia. 3. The text is not so unsatisfactory, nor are the necessary transpositions so frequent or extensive as they are supposed to be. After summing up the situation and contents of IV 11, R. arranges the opening distichs as follows: 3, 8, 5, 4, 7, 6; v. 18 reads *inde patent umbrae mollia iura meae.*

Pp. 506-20. E. Szanto. The organization of the Attic phratries and families. Sz. gives a commentary on an inscription found in CIA. II 84rb. It contains a direction in respect of the presents to be given to the priests on the occasion of the introduction of children into the phratry, and a decision of the members of the same about the *δαδκασια*. The inscription, furthermore, shows that the family is but a subdivision of the phratry. Then follows the study of an inscription in the CIA. II 2, No. 1113, concerning a mortgage on their property taken by the tribe, family, and demos. Remarks on the relation of these different elements to one another.

Pp. 521-62. Th. Birt gives conjectures on the Miles gloriosus.

Pp. 563-98. F. Susemihl. Critical remarks on the zoological writings of Aristotle. 1. The six MSS of the works on the parts, the gait, and the development of the animals; their relation to one another. Corrections of the text of Bekker. 2. The first book 'on the parts of animals,' *περὶ ζῴων μορίων*, is a general introduction to all the works of Aristotle on psychology, physiology and zoology. Emendation of corrupt passages. 3. The double recension and the interpolations of the different schools. 4. Conjectures and corrections in punctuation, accentuation, etc., in said writings.

Pp. 598-610. V. Gardthausen, in notes on the history of the Greek alphabet, attempts to trace the development of *v*, *φ*, *χ*, *ψ*, and *ω*.

Pp. 611-19. O. E. Schmidt. History of the Florentine MSS of the letters of Cicero.

Pp. 620-640. Miscellanies. R. Peppmüller prints another series of notes and emendations of Hesiod's Theogony, Scutum, Opera, and the fragments.

In a remark on Aeschylus and the Parthenon F. B. maintains that the reading *ἀσφαλές* in Aesch. Suppl. 152 is correct. When *Διὸς κόρη* is called upon in an Attic theatre, Pallas is meant. The *σεμνὰ ἐνάπτια* refer to the rising structure of the goddess, and thus the trilogy must have been acted in the year 406 or 459 B. C.

J. M. Stahl thinks that *ἔχει τίλος* in Aisch. Prom. 12 is equal to *τελεῖται*, and not to *τετέλεσται*. He compares it with similar passages in Soph. Antig. 597, Thuc. V 41, 3, Plato's Phaedo 77c.

R. Förster emends *ώς οἰεται* in Plato's Rep. 571d to *ώς Οἰδίπονται*. In another article the same scholar maintains that the *temulenta tibicina* of Lysippus, mentioned by Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXXIV 63, is identical with the portrait of Praxilla of Sikyon, and that a picture of the seven wise men by Lysippus never existed. The epigram of Agathias in the Anthol. Plan. IV 332, *ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἔμπροσθεν*, simply means that in the selection of a subject Lysippus gave preference to Aesop.

R. Muenzel. Notes and conjectures on Heraclitus' Homeric allegories.

W. Deeke gives a translation of the Messapian helmet-inscription, *vetepise | aganasmetapontinas | supmedikiaiaoveare . . .?* as follows: it (the helmet) dedicated A. Ganias the Metapontian under the magistracy of Ao. Veare . . .

The Supplementary Fascicle contains Das Recht von Gortyn herausg. u. erläutert von Franz Bücheler und Ernst Zittelmann.

ANDREW FOSSUM.

W. M. ARNOLD.

ROMANIA, Vol. XVII (1888).

Janvier.

L. Sudre. Sur une branche du Roman de Renart. Of the exploits of Reynard the Fox, as related in the French redaction, one of the best known is that of his feigning to be dead in order to be picked up by some approaching fish-hucksters, from whose cart, into which he is tossed, he robs the choicest herrings and eels. While roasting these at home, Reynard is visited by Ysengrin (the wolf), who craves admittance, but is refused on the ground that one must be either monk or hermit to be granted such a privilege. Ysengrin accordingly consents to receive the tonsure, which Reynard bestows by pouring boiling water on his head; further imposing a vigil at the neighboring fish-pond, where the peasants had cut a hole in the ice to water their cattle. Reynard fastens to Ysengrin's tail a bucket which they find there, and persuades him to suspend it in the water, with the hope of making a catch of fish. The gathering ice soon imprisons Ysengrin, and in the morning he is assailed by a passing huntsman, whose misdirected blow, as it happens, severs his tail, and so he makes good his escape. Such is the outline of episodes which in Méon's edition constitute three distinct branches (II, III, IV), but which M. Martin, the latest editor, has united into a single branch (the third in his edition). The object of this paper is to trace the origin and ramifications of these three episodes in various ancient and modern literatures, and to test the reasons which have led Martin to such a combination of them. Neither of the three exploits—the theft from the fisherman's cart, the fishing device, nor, naturally, the ordination of the wolf—appears to have its counterpart in the commonly accepted sources of the Roman de Renart, that is to say, in Aesop, Phaedrus, Peter Alfonsus, or the "Physiologus." Yet, in the latter, and in the Bestiaries founded on it, the fox feigns himself dead to attract the birds; and in the Panchatantra and Hitopadesa various animals adopt the same ruse to deceive their enemies—involving an observation, indeed, true to nature. The episode of the wolf fishing with his tail seems likewise to have no well defined literary

antecedent, but may probably be referred to a tale of North European origin which undertakes to account for the short tail of the bear by attributing it to a similar mishap, the incident being later clumsily misapplied to the wolf. A Scotch version of the fable preserves a trace of the earlier "motif," by concluding with the words: "That's why the wolf is *stumpy-tailed to this day*, though the fox has a long brush." The appearance of the wolf in the rôle of hypocritical monk is common to several of the Latin poems of the Middle Ages; in the Roman de Renart, however, Ysengrin is presented rather as a dupe than as a hypocrite. In conclusion, the author establishes that in the Roman de Renart, the first episode to figure was that of the fishing, borrowed probably from an oral tradition in which it was separately related; later was prefixed to it the story of the wolf's ordination; and still later that of the fisherman's cart.

J. Bédier. *La composition de la chanson de Fierabras.* (Quels sont, dans le Fierabras, les souvenirs d'une forme originale de la chanson, et quelle est la part des inventions postérieures?) A paper read by one of the pupils of Prof. G. Paris at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. The author shows that the poem is composed essentially of two parts, of which the first, comprising some 1500 verses, is founded on an older poem—the same as that known to Philippe Mousket; while the second, of later invention, is a patchwork of episodes derived from numerous contemporary *chansons de geste*. The author was doubtless a jongleur, whose purpose it was to celebrate, for the benefit of the pilgrims and populace who thronged to the *foire de l'Endit* at St. Denis, the notable relics of the Passion—fragments of the crown of thorns, a nail of the cross, the arm on which Simeon bore the infant Jesus—preserved at the famous cathedral. The poem analysed in the thirteenth century by Philippe Mousket was even at this time (about 1170) antiquated and partly forgotten, yet certain of its episodes were still well remembered, and offered to the jongleur of St. Denis the desired framework for his composite structure. The original Fierabras was an heroic epic, doubtless of the beginning of the eleventh century, the subject of which was the capture of Rome by the pagan Fierabras, and Charlemagne's expedition to Italy to avenge this defeat. The later redaction turns this situation to account to explain the recapture of the sacred relics from Fierabras and their presentation to the monks of St. Denis by Charlemagne.

E. G. Parodi. *Saggio di etimologie spagnuole e catalane.* A scholarly list of fifty new Spanish and Catalan etymologies—most of them acceptable—with interesting comparisons of related words.

A. Thomas. *Les papiers de Rochegude à Albi.* The name of Rochegude is known to Romance scholars as that of the author of the "Parnasse occitanien" and the "Glossaire occitanien," published at Toulouse in 1819, but it has never found its way into the biographical dictionaries. Henri de Pascal de Rochegude was born at Albi (Tarn) in 1741. He was a naval captain at the outbreak of the Revolution, was elected a member of the National Convention, and appointed Rear-Admiral. Retiring in the year IX, he withdrew to private life and devoted himself to studies in Old French and Provençal literature. He died at Albi at the age of ninety-two years, bequeathing his

estate and valuable library to his native town, subject to a life tenure which delayed the transfer until the year 1884. In his favorite field of study, Roche-gude fills a respectable place between La Curne de Sainte-Palaye and Raynouard. The catalogue here presented of his papers, which, for the most part, were copied with infinite patience from the MSS of the great Paris libraries, indicates more extensive and thorough researches than his published works had given reason to suppose.

Mélanges. I. K. Brekke. L'*é* (=*ē*, *i* latin) en ancien français et en majorquin. In Old French, as proved by the assonance, there were three distinct *e*-sounds, and much study has been given to the question of the precise nature of their difference. Brekke supports Ulbrich's hypothesis (*Zeitschrift*, III 522) that OF. *e* from Latin *ē*, *i entravé* had the mixed sound of *ō*, by showing from an extended list of words that the Majorcan dialect presents this development in similar cases (as well as in words containing Latin *ē libre*).—II. A. Thomas. Anceis. In Romania, XIV 574, Thomas derived OF. *anceis* from a Latin form **antius*, accented on the *i*. In the *Zeitschrift*, XI 250, W. Meyer opposes this view, and refers the form *anceis* to the influence of *sordelis* (= *sordidius*). In the present article Thomas returns to the defence of his position. In *Zeitschrift*, XII 560, W. Meyer again replies, but without meeting all of Thomas's objections.—III. G. Paris. Empreu. The OF. word *empreu* occurs often at the head of a series continuing *et deus et trois et quatre*, etc. Various etymologies have been proposed, that here offered explaining the word as standing for *en preu* (**prode*), and corresponding to the *feliciter* used at the outset of enumerations to counteract the bad luck superstitiously associated with counting.—IV. A. Delboulle. Peautre. To this old word Littré attributes the meaning of *boat*. It is here shown by various citations to mean *rudder*. G. Paris, in a foot-note, suggests as etymology Lat. *pelta*, with a change of meaning.—V. G. Paris. Un ancien catalogue de manuscrits français—contained on the fly-leaf of the MS Bibl. nat. fr. 12,569.

Corrections. G. Paris. Un second manuscrit de la rédaction rimée (M) de la Vie de saint Alexis. A MS recently discovered at Carlisle contains the text of the Vie rimée de saint Alexis, published in 1872 by G. Paris in his edition of the St. Alexis. The variants of this text will be serviceable in the preparation of a new edition.

Comptes-rendus. S. Berger. La Bible française au Moyen-Age.—J. Bonnard. Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au Moyen-Age. (Paul Meyer.) These two works are the result of a competition opened in 1879 by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the object of which was to make known the Old French versions (complete or partial) of the Bible anterior to the death of Charles V (1380). The prize was awarded in 1882 to the work of M. S. Berger. The Latin Vulgate was naturally the original of the Old French versions. M. Berger's work is divided into five parts and a conclusion. The first part, entitled *le Psautier normand*, is devoted to the two ancient versions of the Psalter, published in 1860 by Fr. Michel. Part second is entitled *Fragments anciens*, and treats (1) *Les livres des Vaudois*, (2) *Les quatre livres des rois*, (3) *Psautiers glosés*, (4) *L'Apocalypse*, (5) *Essai de Bible abrégée*. Especially interesting is the third part, *la Bible du XIII^e siècle*, a version

prepared during the reign of St. Louis. Part fourth is devoted to *La Bible historiale*, and in particular to the work of Guyart Des Moulins. The fifth part is given up to the *Versions du XIV^e siècle*, while the conclusion furnishes an account of the copyists and illuminators of Bible manuscripts, of the owners of Bibles, and of the influence of the Middle Age versions on the modern translations of the Bible. An appendix describes minutely all the MSS of which the author has made use for his study.—The second of the above-mentioned works (that of M. Bonnard) is characterized as wholly unsatisfactory.

Périodiques.—Chronique.—Livres annoncés sommairement.

Avril.

P. Rajna. Contributi alla storia dell' epopea e del romanzo medievale. V. Gli eroi brettoni nell' onomastica italiana del secolo XII. Fontanini and Zeno in the last century, Fauriel in the present, occupied themselves to a certain extent with the influence on the naming of persons in Italy exerted by the early introduction into that country of the French romances of the Round Table. The same subject was later touched upon by Graf. It is here developed with great thoroughness and wealth of illustration by Rajna. From his researches in contemporary documents it is shown that as early as the beginning of the twelfth century the name of Arthur appears in North Italy, soon followed by Galvan, and later by numerous other names of the Breton cycle, the occurrence of which indicates a very early penetration of the romances of the Round Table into Italy.

A. Pagès. Documents inédits relatifs à la vie d'Auzias March. Despite his numerous biographers, the life of Auzias March, no less than his peculiar Christian name, has always remained obscure. Some have made him out to be a predecessor, others an imitator, of Petrarch. Valencia, Aragon, Catalonia, and even Provence disputed the honor of having given birth to the most distinguished of Catalan poets. Some years ago, however, documents were discovered in a notary's office at Valencia, proving that city to have been his birth-place. These papers, which had remained inedited, are here published. They are five in number, and consist of March's will (Oct. 1458), a codicil, inventory, etc. To these are added two letters from Queen Maria, dated 1422. Certain details of the poet's life are also given, and the name Auzias is derived, on sufficient evidence, from the Biblical Eleazar.

E. Picot. Le Monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre français (*suite et fin.*) An article of some seventy pages, concluded from Vol. XVI. X. *Monologues de villageois*, treated under six heads (75–80). XI. *Monologues historiques* (81–90). XII. *Monologues moraux* (91–95). Followed by a detailed index to the three articles.

Mélanges. I. G. Paris. La chanson de la Vengeance de Rioul ou de la Mort de Guillaume Longue-Epée. Treats of the lost *chanson de geste* which Wace represents himself as having heard in his boyhood, and of which a summary (lacking, however, some of the features mentioned by Wace) is given by the English historian, William of Malmesbury. Interesting conclusions are drawn from a comparison of the scanty details presented by the two authors.—II. A. Thomas, Sur la date de Gui de Bourgogne, concludes from

internal evidence that the poem is less ancient than heretofore supposed, being certainly of a later date than 1218.—III. P. Meyer. Note sur Robert de Blois. Postscript to Vol. XVI 25.—IV. A. van Hamel. Le poème latin de Matheolus. The lost Latin original (some 5000 hexameters) of Jean Le Fèvre's *Livre de Matheolus* has been discovered by Professor van Hamel in the library of the University of Utrecht, and will be published by him in connection with the French poem.—V. A. Delbouille. Brandelle, Brande. Words incompletely treated by Godefroy. Both mean primarily "swing." *Brandiloire* is cited with the same signification. *En brande* = *en balance, en inquiétude*.—VI. N. du Puitspelu. Vadou en lyonnais. G. Paris had proposed as etymology of Fr. *fade*, Lat. *vapidus*, instead of the generally accepted *fatuus*. His view is here supported by the dialect form *vadou* = *vapidus*. The initial *f* is doubtless due to the influence of *fatuus*.

Comptes-rendus. E. Mackel. Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprache (M. Goldschmidt). Dr. Mackel is the first to carry out a methodical study in this field, although the subject has been several times treated, notably by F. Neumann, in his doctor's dissertation (1876) bearing the same title. The book is commended.—E. Martin. Le Roman de Renart (L. Sudre). The completion of this new edition (three volumes with supplement) puts us at length in possession of a trustworthy text, together with an all but complete collection of the variants of this immense compilation. "L'œuvre de M. M. est une œuvre maîtresse ; elle sera la pierre d'assise de tous les travaux postérieurs sur le *Roman de Renart*."—F. Wulff. Le lai du Cor (G. Paris). The *Lai du Cor* is an older variation of the *Mantel mautaillé*, of which Dr. Wulff gave an excellent edition in the Romania a few years since. The text is here subjected to a critical restitution, having also received the benefit of revisal by M. Paris. The poem was composed in England, probably as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and is founded on a tale current in that country, perhaps connected with an ivory horn really preserved at Cirencester.—C. de Lollis. Il canzoniere provenzale Codice Vaticano 3208 O (P. Meyer). Well edited, but not an especially important collection.—In "Observations sur le compte-rendu de l'édition du Poème moral par M. M. Wilmotte" (Romania, XVI, pp. 118–128), Mr. G. Cloetta replies at length to Mr. Wilmotte's criticism of his edition. Mr. W. appends a rejoinder.

Periodiques. A detailed summary is given (among others) of Modern Language Notes, Vol. II (1887). Apropos of the MS of the *Roman de la Rose*, the presence of which in a private library in Boston was signalized by Prof. Alphonse van Daell (Mod. Lang. Notes, II, col. 40), M. Paul Meyer remarks : "Ce ms. m'est bien connu. Je l'ai tenu dans mes mains, à Londres, chez Sotheby, en août 1865. Il a été vendu à cette époque en vente publique pour le prix bien exagéré de 231 guinées (plus de six mille francs). Il n'est pas de l'écriture de Flamel. J'ai cru, moi aussi, qu'il avait appartenu à Charles IX à cause du sonnet de Baif, que j'ai même imprimé à cette occasion dans la *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 6^e série, I 598. Mais ce sonnet, écrit sur un feuillet ajouté, ne suffit pas à prouver que le ms. ait appartenu à Charles IX."

Chronique. Calls attention to the most important to Romance philology of the 166 "articles" stolen from various public institutions in France (cf. A. J. P. IX 119), and now restored to the Bibliothèque Nationale through the successful negotiations of M. L. Delisle.

Livres annoncés sommairement. F. H. Stoddard. References for Students of Miracle Plays and Mysteries (University of California, Library Bulletin, No. 8). "Cette publication est une nouvelle preuve du zèle avec lequel les Américains se mettent à l'étude de notre langue et de notre littérature."

Juillet.

Ch. Joret. Les incantations botaniques des manuscrits F. 277 de la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier et F. 19 de la Bibliothèque académique de Breslau. Republication, with extended comment, (1) of a *Precatio terrae quam antiqui pagani observabant volentes colligere herbas*, and (2) of a *Precatio omnium herbarum*, which are found incorporated in the *Herbarium* of the Pseudo-Apuleius. Among all Indo-European nations abundant traces are found of the cult of plants. These particular incantations "ne sont pas des formules accompagnées de pratiques superstitieuses destinées à en assurer l'efficacité . . . ce sont des prières aussi simples que sincères, adressées par un rhizome à la plante qu'il va cueillir et à la divinité qui y préside." They are believed to be of pagan origin, and to date from a period anterior to the establishment of Christianity.

Pio Rajna. Ancora gli eroi brettoni nell' onomastica italiana del secolo XII. Postscript of eleven pages, supplying omissions from Paduan documents.

P. Meyer. Notice sur le manuscrit 307 de la bibliothèque d'Arras. Recueil de vies de saints en prose et en vers. An interesting MS, containing a number of pieces not found elsewhere and others not before studied, but unfortunately lacking many leaves. M. Meyer gives short extracts from twenty-nine "lives," with indication of the Latin sources and other details.

A. Thomas. Les manuscrits provençaux et français de Marc-Antoine Dominicy. *L'Histoire du pais de Quercy* is the title of a manuscript work of the jurist Dominicy of Cahors (middle of seventeenth century), preserved in the library of Toulouse. The present article publishes and comments some dozen passages contained in it bearing on the Troubadours.

Mélanges. I. H. Schuchardt. Andare, etc. Assumes two etyma, *ambulare* and **ambitare*, bearing to each other the same relation as *misculare* (French *meler*) and *miscitare* (Raetian *masdar*). **Ambitare* gave *andare*. *Ambulare*, through *ammulare*, *amlare*, gave Raetian *amnar*, Prov. *anar*. In the constantly recurring imperative **amlemus*, dissimilation gave *alems*, whence French *aller*. —II. P. Meyer. Trebalh. Rejects the accepted etymology *trabaculum* (or a verb *trabaculare*), on account of the *b* and the *e*, and sets up *trepalium* (given by Du Cange) from *tripalis*. The word means originally an instrument of torture, "peut-être une sorte de chevalet composé de trois pièces de bois de longueur inégale, la plus longue reposant d'un bout à terre, et étant à l'autre bout soutenue par les deux pièces plus courtes." The further meanings are easily derived.—III. G. Paris. Elme, Osberg. Helmets and coat-armor are historically proven to have been imported into North France from the South in

the Middle Ages, a fact which must account for the existence in Old French of the Southern forms *elme*, *osbert*, by the side of the regular *helme*, *halberc*, Germanic initial *h* having disappeared in Provençal, but survived in French. *Osbert* has the further peculiarity of presenting a vocalized *l* (i. e. *ausbert* for *halsbert*) long before the regular occurrence of that phenomenon in North France.—IV. P. Meyer. *Types de quelques chansons de Gautier de Coinci.* It was the custom, in the Middle Ages, as well as later, to adapt sacred words to current popular airs, a procedure which involved the adoption of the rhythm of the secular verses. M. Meyer points out a number of the love poems thus serving as types for the religious songs of Gautier de Coinci.—V. N. du Puitspelu. *Lyonnais carcabeau.* From *cartabeau* (*cartabellum*) by assimilation, according to a tendency (in the Dauphinois and Lyonnais) here formulated as follows: "Lorsque, dans un mot roman, il se trouve une gutturale dure et une dentale dans deux syllabes contiguës, il y a tendance à assimiler la dentale à la gutturale."

Corrections. A. Mussafia. *Appunti sul Roman de Galerent.* Fourteen pages of corrections to the edition published by A. Boucherie for the Société pour l'étude des langues romanes.

Comptes-rendus. J.-B. cardinalis Pitra. *Analecta novissima*, t. II (P. Meyer). A selection from the works of four bishops of Frascati, Odon d'Ourscamps, Jacques de Vitry, Odon de Châteauroux, and Bertrand de la Tour. "La publication du cardinal Pitra est peu soignée (c'est le moins qu'on puisse dire), et l'érudition en est très peu sûre."—M. De Vries. Van den Borchgrave van Couchi (G. Paris). Three fragments of a Netherlandish "Châtelain de Couci." M. Paris thinks they must have belonged to an extensive composition, the substance of which was derived by oral transmission from the French poem of Jakemon Sakesep. "Il faut savoir gré aux deux Néerlandais à qui nous devons de connaître cet ouvrage complètement oublié chez nous, à celui du XIV^e siècle qui l'a traduit non sans talent, et à celui du XIX^e siècle qui a recueilli et publié avec soin les fragments subsistants de l'œuvre de son compatriote."—A. Pakscher. *Die chronologie der Gedichte Petrarcas* (C. de Lollis). An extended review, making a number of rectifications.

Chronique. Karl Bartsch, Professor of Germanic and Romance Philology at the University of Heidelberg, and director of the *Germania*, died at Heidelberg, Feb. 19, 1888. He was born in 1832. The list of Prof. Bartsch's works in the domain of Romance philology alone is too long to be cited here. One of his special distinctions, which placed him almost if not quite alone among his contemporaries, was his extensive command of both the Germanic and Romance fields, coupled with a remarkable fondness for studies of a comparative nature. The work of Bartsch is here sympathetically and justly characterized.

Livres annoncés sommairement.

Octobre.

G. Maspero. *Le vocabulaire français d'un Copte du XIII^e siècle.* The Coptic MS No. 43 (ancien fonds) of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains a

vocabulary of some 225 French words with Coptic and Arabic equivalents. It was incompletely and imperfectly published in 1829 by Champollion-Figeac, in one of his *Mémoires*. M. Maspero, the well-known Egyptologist, here gives a complete edition of this trilingual glossary, transliterating the French portion, and accompanying the whole with a commentary. The list begins with a collection of religious terms, names of saints, etc., and continues with a sort of guide to every-day conversation, containing the numerals, names of days of the week, common objects, etc. The words offer various dialect peculiarities, representing, as the commentator believes, such a mixed patois as would naturally spring up among people of humble extraction from all parts of France, gathered in the coast towns of Syria. The list was probably drawn up in the last years of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem.

G. Paris. *La Chanson d'Antioche provençale et la Gran Conquista de Ultramar*. Paul Meyer published in 1884, in the *Archives de l'Orient latin*, a Provençal fragment of 707 verses, preserved in a MS at Madrid, describing the battle fought by the Christians against the Saracens before Antioch in the year 1098. G. Paris has discovered that a portion of the great Spanish compilation entitled *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, which is founded on Guillaume de Tyr, is translated almost literally from the Provençal poem of which this fragment formed a part. The correspondences are here exhibited in parallel columns, and the manner of compilation of the *Gran Conquista* studied as the basis for a further comparison seeking to throw light on the subject of the missing portions of the Provençal original. To be continued.

M. Wilmotte. *Etudes de dialectologie wallonne*. I. *Le dialecte de Liège au XIII^e siècle*. A study of fifty pages. M. Wilmotte's general purpose is less to present simply the forms of the ancient dialect than to aid in the correct localization of the most interesting dialect texts, in regard to which he insists on the necessity of greater circumspection than has hitherto been shown. In the present paper the author gives, in systematic order, the leading characteristics of the dialect of Liège, and publishes twenty-four charters of the thirteenth century.

Mélanges. I. G. Paris. *La comtesse Elisabeth de Flandres et les Troubadours*. Supports the conjecture of M. Trojel, in his work on the *Cours d'Amour* (Middelalderens Elskovshoffer), that Elisabeth de Vermandois was the Countess of Flanders mentioned by three of the Troubadours in connection with the cruel death of a knight, inflicted at the bidding of the Count.—II. P. Guilhiermoz. *Représentation d'un Jeu de Guillaume Cretin en 1506*. Gives an extract from the diary of Germain Chastelier, conseiller au Parlement de Paris, showing that "les clercs du Chastelet avoient joué en la salle du Louvre des jeux publiquement, en parlant deshonnestement d'aucuns de la court de parlement," and that "Cretin . . . estoit facteur dudit jeu." This is the poet characterized by Marot as "le bon Cretin au vers equivoqué"; it was not before known that he had composed *jeus*.—III. A. Delbouille. *Bouquetin*. The word means "wild goat," and according to Littré, "parait un diminutif de bouc." It is really for *bouc estain*, from German *Steinbock*. Godefroy misunderstands the word *estain*, taking it for an adjective meaning "intègre," i. e. *non castratus*. P. Meyer adds in a foot-note that he has met with the word in

a document of the beginning of the fifteenth century. It also occurs in the form *bouc d'estain*.—IV. L. Shaineau. Les sens du mot "philosophe" dans la langue roumaine. The word *filosof* was introduced into Roumanian, with other learned words, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, in the sense of "physiognomist"; among the common people to-day it is commonly understood to mean "l'interrogateur des constellations," but has also a wider application approaching the scientific sense. Inasmuch, however, as the *savant* is looked upon as in a sense "mad," the word *filosof* has been differentiated in the mouths of the people to *firoscos*, i. e. *scos din fire*, "devoid of sense, demented," still applied to the *savant* and to the man of superior parts in general. The author finds a trace of this logical transition in Molière (*Médecin malgré lui*, I 5), where Valère remarks: "C'est une chose admirable que tous les grands hommes ont toujours du caprice, quelque petit grain de folie mêlé à leur science."

Comptes-rendus. W. Golther. Die Sage von Tristan und Isolde (E. Muret). Until recently, the Celtic origin of the legends of Arthur and the Round Table has scarcely been called in question. But in 1887 the view previously held was vigorously assailed by Wendelin Foerster, in the introduction to his edition of the *Chevalier au Lion*; and the present work takes the position that most of the adventures of which this *epopœia* is composed are not characteristic of any particular nationality, but recur in the literature and popular traditions of numerous countries. The reviewer argues persuasively against this view.—R. Zenker. Die provenzalische Tenzone, eine literar-historische Abhandlung (S. de Grave). "Ce travail intéressant, qui fait preuve d'une méthode rigoureuse et d'une connaissance approfondie du sujet, se distingue par un désir de dire des choses nouvelles qui a parfois entraîné l'auteur trop loin; mais on doit reconnaître qu'il a vraiment rectifié et précisé sur plusieurs points les notions reçues avant lui."—W. Soderhjelm. De Saint Laurent, poème anglo-normand du XII^e siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de Paris (G. Paris). "La publication de M. Soderhjelm mérite tous les éloges, et nous sommes heureux de voir nos études cultivées avec autant de soin jusqu'en Finlande."—G. Salvo Cozzo. Il Contrasto di Cielo d'Alcamo (F. d'Ovidio). A review of six pages, showing that neither the constitution nor the interpretation of the text marks any advance on the work of predecessors.—V. Turri. Poemetto allegorico-amoroso del secolo XIV (N. Zingarelli). An intelligent and accurate edition is still a desideratum.

Périodiques. Worthy of mention are G. Paris's remarks apropos of Schwan's assault (*Zur Lehre von den französischen Satzdoppelformen*, Zeitschrift XI 4) on Neumann's theory of "sentence-doubles": "M. Schw. me paraît avoir très souvent raison, bien qu'il tombe parfois dans des erreurs de détail . . . En somme, l'étude de M. Schwan est vigoureuse, et dans ses résultats principaux elle est concluante."

Chronique. The publication of the Romania has passed from the hands of A. Franck into those of E. Bouillon and E. Vieweg, successors (son-in-law and son) to the late F. Vieweg.—Henri Bordier, former President of the Société de l'Histoire de France, original member of the Société des anciens textes français, and honorary librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale, died Sept. 2, 1888, at the age of seventy-one years.

H. A. TODD.

BRIEF MENTION.

Professor JEBB has done excellent service to young scholars in making his *Selections from the Attic Orators* (London and New York : Macmillan & Co., 1888) more easily obtainable in price and more convenient in some respects to use. The critical notes have been put below the text instead of being printed after it—a decided improvement. As the book has abundantly proved its usefulness, it is not needful to commend it further. Like all Professor Jebb's work, it shows on every page exquisite literary taste and admirable faculty of expression. The merely grammatical soul, however, might say here and there that Professor Jebb's felicity of phrase is a snare to him, that he renders imaginary distinctions so aptly that no one can conceive how points that are so well put should be other than real. The same narrow spirit might also think it strange that the work that has been done in the syntax of the orators since the appearance of the first edition either has not attracted Professor Jebb's attention or has been steadfastly ignored. But the cordial welcome that this Journal has always given Professor Jebb's work is in no wise chilled by these considerations, and the following more or less trifling objections now to be recorded must be set down to the interest with which the book has been reread in its present form.

P. 7, §86, *τίψας* is a form one would not have expected from Professor Jebb. P. 12, §14, and 188, §9, the distinction made between *οὐ* and *μή* in an alternative question is an old favorite of Professor Jebb's, as may be seen by consulting his *Ajax* (1869), v. 7. In —*ἢ μή* we have an 'abstract speculation'; in —*ἢ οὐ* we are called on to make a 'practical conclusion.' Oddly enough, in the very passage he cites to prove this, Dem. 20, 83, the abstract speculation is put in the form *ἢ οὐ*, the real issue is *ἢ μή*. As to the passage of Isaios, even Professor Jebb's ingenuity cannot make the difference a valid one. —*ἢ οὐ* is simply 'no or yes?' —*ἢ μή* 'yes or no?' according to the familiar rule for *οὐ* and *μή* in questions. The all too reserved note on the *'Ερωτι* (p. 31, §34) leaves the student in the dark wherein the mutilation consisted. The history of *ὅτι*, redundant before the direct quotation, has been traced by Dr. Spicker in this Journal (V 221), and it is a matter of some interest that the passage of Andokides commented on (p. 36, §48) is one of the earliest examples. *εἰ λέξοι* (p. 38, §53) must be a misprint for *εἰ λέξαι* (*λέξειε*). There cannot be any considerable loss of vividness in using the fut. opt. for the fut. ind. On the same page the aor. part. (with *περιπάν*) is said to be stronger than the present part. 'just as to see them *murdered*' is stronger than 'to see them being murdered'; 'the aor. pictures the deed as accomplished while he looks on.' We will not quarrel with the expression 'strong,' though it might be said that the pres. is stronger from one point of view, the aor. from another. The point is that Professor Jebb seems to

fancy that the aor. part. is a common construction after verbs of seeing (p. 160, §23), whereas it is very rare in prose after verbs of actual perception (see my *Justin Mart. Apol.* I 3, 3, and *Pindar Introd. Ess. cx*). The chief exceptions are *περιωρᾶν*, in which the negative notion may have its effect on the tense (see my note in *Morris's Thuk.* I, 24), and *ἐφορᾶν*, where the wish for or against may be taken into consideration. It is a pity that Professor Jebb should have lent his high authority to the loose statement that δὲ ἡμᾶς αἰτοῦς may be == δὲ ἡμῶν αἰτῶν (p. 43, §28). A sharp distinction between *στερεῖσθαι* (*στέρεσθαι*) and *ἐστερῆσθαι* (p. 51, §6) is not tenable. See Classen on *Thukyd.* I, 70, and my note on *Pind. Pyth.* 6, 22. The stereotype objection to *φήσαις* (p. 91, §22) seems to be idle (see *A. J. P.* IX 100). *ῶστε οὐ δίνασθαι* is not parallel to the anomalous neg. in *Soph. El.* 780. It is simply the regular *oratio obliqua* form (see *A. J. P.* VII 174), where the passage is cited among many others. The ellipsis in *εἰ μὴ διὰ Κύρου* is not *ἐσφάλησαν*, but simply the negative of the leading verb (hence here *οὐκ ἐκράτησαν*). Goodwin, to whom J. refers, is not sufficiently explicit. On p. 178, §5, we read, “*εἰ . . . ἡμιφισθῆτε . . . ὅν προσήκοι*, ‘If he were claiming my property [which he is doing], this would [*on that supposition*] be fitting,’ etc.; but *δν προσήκεν*, ‘this would be (as it is *not*) fitting.’ Cf. Dem. *De Cor.* §206, *εἰ μὲν τοινυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχειρουν λέγεν . . . οὐκ ἔσθ' ὥστις οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσει μοι.’” To be sure, in 18, 206 we are tempted to read with Dion. Hal. and many MSS *ἐπετίμησε*, but we can make sense of the passage as a logical condition ‘If I was,’ not ‘if I *were* undertaking’; and in any case the passage is not in point, for here the antithesis is not to *ἡμιφισθῆτε*, but to the circumstance that precedes. The whole protasis reads: *εἰ δὲ ἦν ἄπαις ἔγώ τετελευτηκὼς καὶ ἡμιφισθῆτε*, and the antithesis is given in *ζῶ γάρ*. Hence we must have *ἀν προσήκεν*, and not *δν προσήκοι*. The rare shift from the unreal protasis to the ideal apodosis is either merely apparent (the true condition being involved) or a real anakoluth. - The difference between *οἰος* and *οἴος τε* might have been better put by the accomplished editor of *Theophrastos* (see *A. J. P.* VII 165). *οἰος* ‘kind of’ is all right, but I question ‘capable’ for *οἴος τε*. Elmsley’s explanation of *οὐ μὴ εἰσει*; would require *οὐν οὐκ εἰσει*; (*A. J. P.* III 205), and is not worthy of serious refutation by examples (p. 193, §24).*

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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